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Originēs Eccleſiaſticæ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Chriſtian Church.

VOL. X.

296 / 11



Origines Eccleſiaſticæ:

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Chriſtian Church.

VOL. X.

Giving an Account

Of Funeral Rites, or the Cuſtom and Manner of Burying the Dead, obſerved in the ancient Church. With a particular Enquiry, How and when the Cuſtom of Burying in Churches firſt came in.

To which are added

Three Indexes to the whole Work. 1. *An Index of Matter.* 2. *An Index of the Authors.* 3. *An Index of the Councils* uſed throughout the whole Work: With a *Preface* containing ſome Juſt Animadverſions on Mr. *Blackamore's Summary of Chriſtian Antiquities*, and his *Index Hæreticus*, prefixed to it.

By JOSEPH BINGHAM,
Rector of *Havant.*

LONDON:

Printed for R. KNAPLOCK *at the* Biſhop's-Head *in St.* Paul's Churchyard. MDCCXXII.


G R III
BRITISH MUSEUM



THE

PREFACE.

WHEN I had finiſhed theſe two Volumes, and compleated the Whole Work that I intended, and ſent it to the Preſs, hoping to give myſelf a little Reſt and Vacation from hard Labour; I was immediately called to a new Work by a Book that was ſent me, bearing the Title of, *Eccleſiæ Primitivæ Notitia*, or a Summary of Chriſtian Antiquities. To which is prefix'd, An *Index Hæreticus*, containing a ſhort Account of *All* the Principal Hereſies ſince the Riſe of Chriſtianity; and ſubjoyned,

The PREFACE.

A Brief Account of the Eight firſt General Councils, dedicated to the venerable Society for Propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, by *A. Blackamore*, in Two Volumes 8°. *Lond.* 1722. I confeſs, I was very much ſurprized at firſt with the Title and Epiſtle Dedicatory, thinking it to be ſome New Work, that had done ſome mighty Thing, either in correcting my Miſtakes, or ſupplying my Deficiencies, after Twenty Years hard Labour in compiling my *Origines* for the Uſe of the Church. But as ſoon as I looked into the *Preface*, and a little into the Book itſelf, I found it to be only a Tranſcript of ſome Part of my *Origines*, under the Notion of an Epitome, though no ſuch thing is ſaid in the Title-Page. This ſeems to be an Art of the Gentleman, and the Ten Bookſellers that are in Combination with him, to render my Books unuſeful, and his own more valuable, as containing all I have ſaid and and ſomething more at a leſs Price; Which, he ſays, will be of Uſe to thoſe Poor Clergymen and others whoſe Genius and Inclination

tion lies towards Antiquity, but are not able to purchaſe my Books for the Dearneſs of them, But the Gentleman impoſes very much upon Poor Readers in ſaying this, upon two Accounts: Firſt, In pretending that he gives them an Epitome of my Whole Work, when yet there were two Volumes ſtill behind, which he could have no Opportunity to epitomize, becauſe they were not printed. He ſays indeed in his Preface, That I had happily compleated my Whole Work in Eight Volumes, and gives it an higher Commendation and *Elogium*, than perhaps it really deſerves: But where he learned, that I had finiſhed my Work in Eight Volumes, I cannot underſtand: I am ſure I had advertized the Readers, and him among the reſt, That I intended Two Volumes more, which now I give them to compleat my Deſign. So that this Gentleman deceives his Poor Brethren, when he pretends to give them an Epitome of the Whole, when it is only in Part; and he muſt put them to the Charge of another Volume to make even his *Epitome* compleat. But ſecondly, If this Gentleman was ſo concerned for his Poor Brethren, why

did he make his *Epitome* ſo large? The Subſtance of my Books for the Uſe of ſuch Men might be brought into much leſs Compaſs: There needed no Authorities to have been cited for their Uſe, who have no Books to examine and compare them; but they might have reſted upon the Authority of the Compiler; whoſe Authority they may more decently and honeſtly uſe upon any Occaſion, than the Authority of Fathers and Councils, which our Author, with me, very well ſuppoſes they have no Opportunity to ſee. And farther, if our Author meant to gratify his Poor Brethren at an eaſy Rate, why did he clog his *Epitome*, both before and behind, with Two long Diſcourſes of his own? Sure this was not to make it Cheaper, but to put them to more Expence, in being obliged to buy his Diſcourſes, if they were minded to read any Thing of mine. The fair Way of Epitomizing, had been to have given an Abſtract of my Books by themſelves, and Printed his own ſeparate from them: This had been more for the Intereſt of his Indigent Readers,

ders, and I believe he will find, it would have been more for the Intereſt of his Bookſellers: I know not what Authority he or his Bookſellers had to reprint my Books in Effect, which are my Property by Law. But I argue not with him at preſent upon that Point. If he had done it in a genteel Way, by asking Leave, and under Direction, he ſhould have had my Leave and Encouragement alſo. Or, if he had done it Uſefully, ſo as truly to anſwer the End he pretends, even without Leave, he ſhould have had my Pardon. But now, he has defeated his own Deſign, both by Unneceſſary and Hurtful Additions of his own, which will not only incommode and incumber his Books, but render them Dangerous and Pernicious to unwary Readers, unleſs timely antidoted and corrected by ſome more skilful Hand. For which Reaſon, ſince they are ſent into the World together with an Abſtract of my *Antiquities*, I have thought it juſt both to the World, and myſelf to make ſome proper Animadverſions on them. I freely own, That a juſt and authentick Account of Ancient and Modern Sects and Hereſies, done by a

Learned

Learned and Judicious Hand, would be a very Uſeful Work: And it is what has been long wanted, and long deſired by many Learned Men, who obſerve the Failings of the common *Hereſiologiſts* on all Sides: But I cannot ſee what an Account of Modern Hereſies has to do with the Antiquities of the Church, or how the Knowledge of Modern Sectaries can help to explain the ancient Uſages and Practices of the *Catholicks* in former Ages. For which Reaſon our Author might have drop'd that Part of his Work without any Detriment, to have made his Book the Cheaper. But whether it was proper or improper to clog his Work with any Account of Hereſies ancient or modern; what had been done in either Kind, ſhould have been done with Care and Judgment, and ſomething of Exactneſs, which, after all the Compliments he paſſes on my Work, I cannot ſay of his, and I am heartily ſorry that in Juſtice to the World I cannot do it. For ſome of his Accounts are very trifling and jejune, and ſuch as give no Light or Information to a Reader: Others are very falſe and injurious to Great Men, whom

whom he makes Hereticks, when they were really the great Defenders of the *Catholick Faith*: And his whole Account is very imperfect, omitting ſome of the moſt Conſiderable Sects and Errors, whilſt his Title-Page pretends to be an Account of *All* the Principal Hereſies ſince the Riſe of Chriſtianity. I love not to cenſure any Man without Reaſon, and therefore I will give ſome evident Proof of each Particular I lay to his Charge: Only premiſing one Thing, which I believe will make the *Grammarians* ſmile: The running Title of his Treatiſe is, *Index Hæreticus*, which in *Engliſh* is not what he calls it, *An Account of Hereſies*; but, *An Heretical Index*. Which I believe he did not intend ſhould be its Character: But if we ſoften the Meaning of the Word, *Heretical*, and take it only for erroneous; however ominous it be, it is a very juſt Character indeed. For beſides its other Faults, it is very erroneous in the Characters he gives of very Great and Orthodox and Eminent Saints of GOD, who in his Account are ſome of the worſt of Hereticks. I will

make

make good in Order the ſeveral Charges I bring againſt him.

1. SOME of his Accounts are very trifling and jejune, and ſuch as give no Light or Information to a Reader. In ſpeaking of the *Hypſiſtarians*, all that he ſays of them, is only this: "That they were Maintainers of an "Hereſy in the Fourth Century, made up of "*Judaiſm* and *Paganiſm*." Now what is a Reader the wiſer for all this? This Character, being in ſuch General Terms only, would ſerve at leaſt Twenty Hereſies, and a Reader would not know how to diſtinguiſh them, ſeeing no particular Opinions or Practices of *Jews* or *Gentiles* are here aſcrib'd to the *Hypſiſtarians*, whereby to diſcern them from other Hereticks that mixed *Judaiſm* and *Paganiſm* in one common Religion. He ſays in his *Preface*, One of the chief Reaſons for drawing up his *Index Hæreticus* was, becauſe in my Books I had only touch'd lightly and in *tranſitu* upon Hereſies, as they made for my Purpoſe, without giving any perfect Deſcription of them. Which is very true. But why then did not he

he give a perfect Deſcription of thoſe *Hypſiſtarians*, or at leaſt a more perfect one than I had done? He could not be ignorant, whilſt he was epitomizing my Books, that I had given a pretty good Deſcription of them, *Book* XVI. *Chap.* 6. *n.* 2. *p.* 306. *Vol.* VII. where I ſay, They called themſelves *Hypſiſtarians*, that is, Worſhippers of the Moſt High GOD, whom they worſhipped, as the *Jews* did, only in One Perſon; and they obſerved their *Sabbaths*, and uſed Diſtinction of Meats, clean and unclean, though they did not regard Circumciſion, as *Gregory Nazianzen*, whoſe Father was once of this Sect, gives the Account of them. This is ſome Account of them, if it be not a perfect one. Why then did he not give the ſame, or a better Account of them, or at leaſt refer his Reader to my Book, or his own *Epitome*, p. 335. where he tranſcribes my Account of them? The Gentleman was in haſte when he wrote his *Index*, and could not ſtand to do Juſtice neither to me nor his Readers. I could add ſomething more concerning theſe *Hypſiſtarians* out of *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Heſychius* and

and *Suidas*; but it will be time enough to do that, if I live to give the Reader an *Epitome* of my own with ſome Additions. I only remark here, That there is no Notice taken of theſe *Hypſiſtarians* in *Epiphanius*, *Theodoret*, *Philaſtrius*, or St. *Auſtin*, or any other of the common *Hereſiologiſts*; and that they who ſpeak of them, ſay nothing of their *Paganiſm*, however our Author came to blunder upon it.

HIS Account of the *Cœlicolæ* is much ſuch another as the former: "*Cœlicolæ*, or Wor-"ſhippers of Heaven, an Heretical Sect in the "Fifth Century; at which Time they were "condemned by the *Reſcripts* of *Honorius* the "Emperor." It is hard again, that he could not have referred his Readers to the ſame Place of my Book, or his own *Epitome*, where they might have found a much better Account of them. But this Gentleman was to magnify his own *Index*, and make his Readers believe, that he had done great Feats and Wonders in Diſcovering the Tenets of ancient Hereticks, where I had been ſilent,

lent, or but lightly touched upon them; though by these Instances the Reader will now be able to judge of the Perfection and Excellency of his Performance.

I will give but one Instance more of this Kind out of many that might be added. In speaking of *Ethnophrones*, he says, "They "were Hereticks of the Seventh Century, "who taught that some *Pagan* Superstiti-"ons were to be retained together with "Christianity." But why did he not inform his Reader what these *Pagan* Superstitions were? Is there no Author that speaks particularly of them? The Learned Reader may please to take this Account from me in the Words of *Damascen. de Hæresibus*, p. 585. *Ethnophrones cum Gentium Instituta sequantur, in cæteris sunt Christiani. Hi Natales dies, Fortunam, Fatum, omnem Astronomiam, & Astrologiam, omnemque Divinationem & Auspicia probant: Auguria, Expiationes, & Placationes, Sortes, Prodigiorum & Portentorum Inspectiones, Veneficia, aliasque ejusdem generis impias fabulas adhibent: iisdemque quibus Gentes,*

tes, utuntur Institutis. Dies etiam Festos quosdam Græcorum probant: Dies denique, & Menses, & Annos, & Tempora observant & notant. In short, they were the same with those superstitious Christians, who followed the forbidden *Heathen* Arts of Divination, Magick, and Inchantment, Judicial Astrology, Calculation of Nativities, Augury, Soothsaying, Divination by Lots, Observation of Days and Accidents, and the Observation of *Heathen* Festivals, of whom I have so largely and particularly treated in two whole Chapters, *Book* XVI. *Chap.* iv and v. where I speak of the Discipline and Laws of the Church made against them. And yet this Gentleman will bear his Readers in hand, That he has given a Perfect Account of those ancient Sects and Heresies, which I only occasionally and lightly touch upon.

2. THE second Charge I have against his *Index* is more weighty, That many of his Accounts of Heresies and Hereticks are very false, and highly injurious to the Character and Memory of Great, and Good, and Excellent

Excellent Men, whom he makes Hereticks, when they were really noble Confeſſors and brave Defenders of the *Catholick* Faith. For Proof of this I will not inſiſt upon the Characters he gives of *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardes*, or of *Nicholas* the Deacon; but only obſerve, That a Prudent Writer might have ſoftned his Character of each. For though *Valeſius* * bears hard upon *Melito*, and ſays, with our Author, That he aſſerted GOD to be Corporeal in a Book which he wrote, περὶ Θεοῦ ἐνσωμάτου, which *Valeſius* tranſlates, *De Deo Corporeo:* Yet other Learned Perſons † think this to be a Miſtake; ſince Θεὸς ἐνσώματος does not ſignify a Corporeal GOD; but GOD Incarnate, or made Fleſh, or dwelling in the Body; which is a quite different Thing from GOD's being Corporeal in his Divine Nature. And therefore, ſince thus much might juſtly have been ſaid, by Way of Apology, for

 Melito,

* Valeſ. Not. in Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 26.

† Cave Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 43. Du Pin, *in the Life of* Melito. Suicer. Theſaur. Eccleſ. voce Ἐνσωμάτωσις.

Melito, our Author ſhould not have been ſo ſevere upon him, as to ſtyle him an Heretick of the firſt Ages, who held, That GOD was Corporeal; but have alledged in his Favour what ſo many Learned Men have ſaid in Juſtification of him: Eſpecially conſidering what both *Polycrates* * in *Euſebius*, and *Tertullian* † in St. *Jerom*, ſay of him, That he was a Man filled with the HOLY GHOST, and generally believed to be a Prophet among Chriſtians.

THE ſame Apology might have been made, and in Juſtice ſhould have been made, for *Nicholas*, one of the Seven Deacons. For though ſome of the Ancients lay the Doctrine of the *Nicolaitans* to his Charge; yet, as I ſhew in one of the preceding Books *, a great many others, particularly, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Euſebius*, *Theodoret*, and St. *Auſtin* excuſe him,

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* Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 24.

† Tertul. ap. Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 24.

* Book XXII. Chap. i. n. 2.

him, and ſay, The Doctrine was none of his, but only taken up by thoſe who pretended to be his Followers, grounded upon ſome miſtaken Words of his, which had no ſuch Meaning.

BUT I paſs over this to our Author's Account of the *Acephali*; "Who, he ſays, "were an Headleſs Kind of *Hereticks*, who "owned neither Biſhop, Prieſt, nor Sacra-"ment, like our Modern *Quakers*." I know not what Grounds our Author had for this: For he never cites any particular Writer throughout his whole *Index*: But I know *Alexander Roſſe* ſaid the ſame before him; and he is one of this Gentleman's Learned Authors. I know alſo that ſome Popiſh Writers * object it to the *Lutherans*, That they are like the old *Acephali*, becauſe they have no Biſhops for their Leaders: And I am apt to think, *Alexander Roſſe* took it, right or

 wrong,

* *See* Maſon's *Defence of the Ordination of Miniſters Beyond Seas*, p. 129. Oxon. 1641.

wrong, from ſome of thoſe Popiſh Writers. But *Alexander* has the Misfortune to contradict himſelf: For he ſays in the very ſame Breath, That *Severus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria* (he meant *Antioch*) was Author of this Sect of *Acephali*, under *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor, *An.* 462. And that they were called alſo *Theodoſians* from *Theodoſius* their chief Patron, and Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Strange indeed! That they ſhould have Biſhops for their Authors and Patrons, and yet be without Biſhop, Prieſt, or Sacrament among them! Our Author was aware of this Rock, and had the Wit to avoid it: And therefore here he fairly and wiſely drop'd his Guide, and left him to ſhift for himſelf with his Contradictions; telling us the firſt Part of the Story, but not the latter, which would have ſpoiled his Parallel between the *Acephali* and the *Quakers*. But how would he make out, if he was preſſed hard to it, That the *Acephali* had no Biſhops, or were named Headleſs, from the Want of ſuch Heads among them? For my Part, I never met with any ancient Writer that gave this Account of them.

them. *Liberatus* ſays *, They were called *Acephali*, becauſe they would not receive the Doctrine of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, nor follow him as their Head, nor yet any other. But theſe were Biſhops, who would neither take *Cyril* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, nor *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* for their Head, and were therefore called *Acephali*, becauſe they would follow neither Patriarch as their Leader. For as thoſe Biſhops were called *Autocephali*, who had no Patriarch above them, but were a Sort of Patriarchs themſelves, and independent of any other: So thoſe Biſhops, who were ſubject to Patriarchs, and withdrew their Obedience from them, were called *Acephali*, becauſe they were no Heads or Patriarchs themſelves, and yet refuſed to be ſubject to any other. Patriarchs were then Heads of the Biſhops, as Biſhops were Heads of the People; and theſe are quite different Things; for Biſhops to be called *Acephali*,

* Liberat. Breviar. cap. 9. Hos eſſe puto Authores Acephalorum, qui neque Cyrillum habent Caput, neque quem ſequantur oſtendunt.

becauſe they rejected their Patriarch, and People to be called *Acephali* becauſe they had neither Biſhop, nor Prieſt, nor Sacrament among them. I am not fond of defending ancient Hereticks, but I think all Men ought to have Juſtice done them, and not be charged with more Hereſies than they were really guilty of. It is allowed on all Sides, that theſe *Acephali* were *Eutychians* and Enemies of the Council of *Chalcedon*; And as ſuch *Leontius* † alſo writes againſt them: But he ſays not a Word of their being without Biſhops, Prieſts or Sacraments: And therefore it lies upon our Author to produce ſome ancient Voucher, better than *Alexander Roſſe*, for the Charge he brings againſt them.

I inſiſt not on his little Grammatical Error in his Account of the *Saccophori*, "Who, "he ſays, were a Branch of the *Encratites*, "ſo called becauſe they carried a long Bag, "to

† Leont. de Sectis. Action. 7. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 1. p. 522.

" to make the People believe they led a " Penitent Life. " They were indeed a particular Sect of the *Manichees*, who are condemned under that Name in ſeveral Laws of the *Theodoſian* * *Code*, where the ſeveral Branches of the *Manichees* are proſcribed under the diſtinguiſhing Names of *Solitarij*, *Encratitæ*, *Apotactitæ*, *Hydroparaſtatæ* and *Saccofori*, which Names they aſſumed to ſhelter themſelves againſt the Severity of former Laws made againſt the *Manichees* under the Name of *Manichees* only. But now theſe *Manichean-Saccophori* were not ſo called from carrying a long Bag, but from wearing Sackcloth, and affecting to appear with it in Publick. *Saccus* indeed will ſignify a Sack or a Bag, as well as Sackcloth : But what has a long Bag to do with a Penitent Life? It is fitter to deſcribe a Philoſopher than a Penitent : But Sackcloth and a Penitent Life will conſiſt very well together. However the Church did not allow any to affect this

* Cod. Theod. Lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis, Leg. 7, 9, 11.

Garb, though ſome Monks, like the *Manichees*, were very fond of it, and loved to appear publickly with Chains or Croſſes about their Necks, and walked barefoot, and wore Sackcloth out of mere Singularity and Affectation: Who are therefore often ſeverely cenſured for theſe Things by the Ancients, *Epiphanius*, St. *Auſtin*, St. *Jerom*, *Palladius* and *Caſſian*, as I have ſhew'd more fully * in another Place: But I never heard of any, either Monks or Hereticks, cenſured for carrying a long Bag, as an Indication of a Penitent Life: And I am of Opinion, this Gentleman when he conſiders it again, will reckon this ſuch another Slip as *Index Hæreticus*; which are but ſmall Failings in Compariſon of what I have now farther to object againſt his *Index*, which turns Catholicks into Hereticks in ſeveral Inſtances both of former and later Ages.

AMONG the Ancients he does great Injuſtice to *Euſtathius*, the Famous Biſhop of *Antioch*,

* Book VII. Chap. iii. n. 6.

Antioch. For in giving an Account of the *Euſtathian* Hereticks, he ſays, "The *Euſta-* "*thians* were the Spawn of the *Sabellian* He- "reſy, and had their Name from *Euſtathius* "Biſhop of *Antioch*, who was depoſed in a "Council held in his own City, about the "Middle of the Fourth Century, for hold- "ing thoſe Principles." I take no Notice of his Parachroniſm in ſaying, That he was depoſed in the Council of *Antioch* about the Middle of the Fourth Century: For though we cannot well call the Year 327 or 329, when that Council was held, the Middle of the Fourth Century; yet this is but a ſmall Miſtake, into which he might eaſily be led by *Baronius* or the corrupt Copies of *Athanaſius* and St. *Jerom*, which place that Council in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, inſtead of *Conſtantine*, as the beſt Criticks, *Valeſius* * *Gothofred* † *Pagi* ‡, and Dr. *Cave* †‡ are fully

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* Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. Lib. 3. cap. 59. † Gothofred. Diſſert. in Philoſtorg. Lib. 2. cap. 7.

‡ Pagi. Critic. in Baron. an. 327. n. 3. & 340. n. 18.

†‡ Cave. Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. 1. p. 139.

fully agreed; and as appears plainly from all the Hiſtorians, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, and *Philoſtorgius*. But the Thing, I complain of, is this, That he makes this *Euſtathius* a *Sabellian*, and his Followers a Spawn of the *Sabellian* Hereſy. Whereas, in Truth, he was the great Defender of the *Catholick* Faith againſt the *Arian* Hereſy in the Council of *Nice*: The Council itſelf tranſlated him from *Beræa* to *Antioch*; and he was the firſt Man that opened the Council with a Panegyrical Oration to *Conſtantine*; as this Author, forgetting himſelf, fairly owns in his Account of the Eight General Councils, *p.* 476. *Athanaſius* gives him this Character, That he was a Noble Confeſſor and Orthodox in the Faith, ὑπὲρ πίστιν εὐσεβῆς, and exceeding zealous for the Truth *. How then could he be a *Sabellian*, unleſs *Sabellianiſm* was the true Faith, and *Athanaſius* a *Sabellian* alſo? To open this Matter a little farther, and undeceive this Gentleman and his Readers alſo: This *Euſtathius* was only

* Athanaſ. Epiſt. ad Solitarios. T. 1. p. 812.

only abuſed in his Character out of Spite and Malice by the *Arians*, who were his implacable Enemies, becauſe he was a reſolute Defender of the *Nicene* Faith againſt them. They therefore endeavoured to make him odious, by falſely charging him with *Sabellianiſm*, and ſeveral other Crimes, upon the Strength of which Calumnies they depoſed him in one of their own Councils at *Antioch*. *Socrates* * and *Sozomen* † ſay expreſsly, that this Council of *Antioch* was an *Arian* Council that depoſed *Euſtathius*, upon a Pretence, That he was more a Defender of the *Sabellian* Doctrine, than of the *Nicene* Faith. Which was an uſual Trick of the *Arians*, whereby they endeavoured to undermine *Athanaſius* alſo. Now this being only a mere Calumny and Slander of ſo Great a Man, impoſed upon him by his profeſs'd Enemies, the *Arians*, it does not become any one, who takes upon him to give Unlearned Readers an Account of the ancient Hereſies, to fix this Character upon him, without

* Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 24. † Sozom. Lib. 2. cap. 19.

without giving ſome Authority, or at leaſt an Intimation, that he was depoſed only in an *Arian* Council. I do not ſuppoſe this Gentleman had any ill Deſign in what he wrote about this Matter; but he was either impoſed upon by ſome Modern Hiſtorian, or did not ſufficiently conſider what he found delivered by ancient Writers. Which ſhould make him the more cautious for the future what Guides he follows, and learn to write with Judgment, when he takes upon him the Office of an Hiſtorian for ſuch as cannot contradict him.

HE commits the ſame Fault in giving an Account of the *Eſſenes*, " Who, he ſays, were " a Sect of Chriſtian Hereticks at *Alexandria* " in the Time of St. *Mark*." Now there ſeems to be a little more of wilful Miſtake in this. For he could not be ignorant, whilſt he was tranſcribing my *Origines*, that I had alledged the Authority of *Epiphanius*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerom*, to ſhew, That they believed them to be the *Orthodox* Church, and not a Sect of Chriſtian Hereticks at *Alexandria* in the

the Time of St. *Mark*: And he himſelf in his *Epitome*, refers his Readers to theſe Authorities alſo. I ſaid farther (which he leaves out) That ſome Learned Modern Writers, ſuch as *Valeſius*, *Scaliger*, and *Dallæus* queſtion, whether they were Chriſtians; whilſt Biſhop *Beverege* and others maintain the common Opinion. But all agree that they were not a Sect of *Chriſtian Hereticks*; however this Author came to deſpiſe all Authority, both Ancient and Modern, in fixing that Character upon them. For if they were *Hereticks*, they belonged to the *Jews*, and not to the *Chriſtians*.

IN his Accounts of Modern Hereticks (which he might have ſpared in a Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities*) he is much more injurious to the Reader, as well as to the Pious Memory of great Numbers of many Excellent Men, and to the Proteſtant Cauſe in general, when he puts the *Albigenſes*, the *Huſſites* or *Bohemians*, the *Lollards*, the *Waldenſes*, and the *Wicklevites* all into his Black-Liſt of Hereticks; aſcribing to them ſuch monſtrous

Opinions

Opinions as they were certainly never guilty of, but only ſtood falſely charged with them by the Implacable Malice of their *Romiſh* Adverſaries, who treated them juſt as the *Arians* did *Athanaſius* and *Euſtathius* in former Ages. It might have become a Proteſtant *Hereſiologiſt* and Hiſtorian, either to have omitted theſe Names, or at leaſt to have told his Readers what Excellent Vindications and Apologies have been written by the moſt Learned Proteſtant Authors of the two laſt Ages, to clear their Character of thoſe black and odious Imputations, which their Adverſaries falſely and induſtriouſly threw upon them. If he knew nothing of theſe Vindications, he was very ill qualified to act the Part of an Hiſtorian in this Caſe: If he did know them, he was more Unpardonable ſtill, in Concealing from his Readers what in all Juſtice both to them, and the Church, and the Memory of the Saints, who were ſo traduced, he ought carefully to have laid before them. If he had thought fit to have looked into my *Scholaſtical Hiſtory of Baptiſm*, as carefully as he has done into the *Origines*, he might

might there have found the Venerable Names of ſome of thoſe Worthy Men, who have done Juſtice to the Proteſtant Cauſe, in Vindicating thoſe Witneſſes of the Truth from the falſe Aſperſions that are caſt upon them. For his and the Truth's Sake, I will once more tranſcribe them, with a little Addition, and more particular Reference to the Books and Places containing thoſe Vindications.

Crankanthorp. Defenſio Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ contra Spalatenſem, cap. 18. p. 100.

Uſſerius de Chriſtianarum Eccleſiarum Succeſſione & Statu. cap. 10. quæ eſt de Albigenſium & aliorum qui Eccleſiæ Pontificiæ adverſati ſunt, Hiſtoria.

Albertinus de Euchariſtia, Lib. 3. p. 976. ubi agit de Wickleviſtis, Waldenſibus, Lollardis, Taboritis ſive Bohemis.

Sir *Samuel Morland.* Hiſtory of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piedmont. Lond.* 1658. *Fol.*

Dr. *Allix* Hiſtory of the *Albigenſes. Lond.* 1692. 4°. 2. Vol.

Joachim

Joachim Heſterberg de Eccleſia Waldenſium. Argent. 1668. 4°.

Paul Perrin. Hiſtory of the *Albigeois* and *Vaudois.* Lond. 1624. 4°.

Balthaſar Lydius. Waldenſia ſive Conſervatio Veræ Eccleſiæ demonſtrata ex Confeſſionibus Taboritarum & Bohemorum, 2 Vol. *Roterod.* 1616. 8°.

Cave Hiſtoria Literaria. In Conſpectu ſæculi Waldenſis ſive Duodecimi.

Dr. *Tho. James*'s Apology for *John Wickliffe*, ſhewing his Conformity with the now *Church of England*, Oxon. 1608. 4°.

Dr. *Henry Maurice*'s Vindication of the Prim. Church. p. 374.

Ratio Diſciplinæ Fratrum Bohemorum. *Hagæ.* 1660.

Hen. Wharton Appendix ad Cave Hiſt. Literar. p. 50. in Vita Joan Wicklef. p. 50.

The Life of *Wickliffe*, by a late Author. *Lond.* 8°.

Comenij Hiſtoria Perſecutionum Eccleſiæ Bohemicæ. *Lug. Bat* 1647. 8°.

It. Hiſtoria Eccleſiæ Slavonic. &c.

Anton. Leger. Hiſtoire Vaudois des Egliſes des Vallées de Piedmont, *Lug. Bat.* 1669. *Fol.*

Waldenſium Confeſſio contra claudicantes Huſſitas. *Baſil.* 1566. 8°. *See alſo in the* Faſciculus Rerum, *&c.* Tom. 1.

Conrad. Danhauerus. Eccleſia Waldenſium Orthodoxiæ Lutheranæ Teſtis & Socia. *Argent.* 1659. 4°.

Sam. Mareſius. Diſſertatio Hiſtorico-Theologica de Waldenſibus. *Groning.* 1660. 4°.

Ægid. Stauchius. Hiſtorico-Theologica Diſquiſitio de Waldenſibus. *Witenberg.* 1675. 4°.

Pet. Weſenbeccius. De Waldenſibus & Principum Proteſtantium Epiſtolis huc pertinentibus. 1603. 4°.

Joan. Laſicius. Veræ Religionis Apologia. *Spiræ.* 1582.

NOW is it poſſible, among ſuch a Number of fine Diſcourſes and elaborate Pieces upon this Subject, a Perſon who writes the Account of Hereſies, ſhould never have met with, or heard of any Apologies that were made in the Behalf of theſe Men; but he muſt needs take his Accounts crudely, as delivered

by their profeſs'd Enemies? If the Account of *Rainerius*, their Adverſary, but an Ingenuous Popiſh Writer, be taken, it does them abundantly more Juſtice than this Author. For though he calls them a Sect, yet he ſays, it was an ancient Sect: For ſome ſaid, It had continued from the Time of Pope *Sylveſter*; and others, from the Time of the Apoſtles: And whereas all other Sects were accompanied with horrible Blaſphemies againſt GOD, which would make a Man tremble; this of of the *Leoniſts* had a great Shew of Piety: They lived uprightly before Men, and believed all Things aright of GOD, and all the Articles contained in the *Creed*: Only they blaſphemed and hated the Church of *Rome*. Were theſe the *Waldenſes*, "That rejected "Epiſcopacy, and the Apoſtles Creed, and "all Holy Orders, and the Power of the "Magiſtrate, and approved of adulterous Em-"braces, and practiſed promiſcuous Copula-"tion, as our Author repreſents them, ſty-"ling them, by Way of Contempt, the Re-"ligon-mongers, and pious Reformers of the "Twelfth Century?" If our Author were

put

put to apologize for himſelf, he would lay all the Blame upon *Alexander Roſſe*: For he is his Learned Author from whom he tranſcribed. And *Alexander* tells us ingenuouſly, he had his Accounts from *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, *Sanders*, *Gualterus*, *Bellarmin*, *Viegas*, *Florimundus Raimundus*, *Prateolus*, *Gregory de Valentia*, and ſuch other Writers, who were noted *Papiſts*, and inveterate Enemies of the *Waldenſian* and Proteſtant Religion. And ſhould an Author, who writes about Hereſies, have given his Accounts, deſigned for the Uſe of Proteſtant Readers, out of ſuch Authors, when he might have had Recourſe to one or more of ſuch a Number of Excellent Proteſtant Writers, who have cleared up the Character of the *Waldenſes*, and vindicated their Memory out of their own Writings and Confeſſions of Faith, which are the moſt certain Evidences of their Religion? It is amazing to think how any Ingenuous Writer, who pretends to the leaſt Knowledge of Books and Learning, ſhould give ſuch a Black Character of thoſe Excellent Confeſſors and Witneſſes of the Truth, without ſuggeſting the

leaſt Tittle of what ſo many Learned Men have ſaid, or what may be ſaid, in their Vindication. I will not ſuſpect our Author of any ſiniſter Deſigns of advancing *Popery*: But I will be bold to ſay, He could hardly have taken a more effectual Way, had he deſigned to do it, than by inſtilling into the Minds of thoſe who can look no farther than his Accounts, ſuch an odious Character of thoſe Men, of whom ſo many Thouſands laid down their Lives for the Cauſe of true Religion, in thoſe very Points wherein Proteſtants ſtand diſtinguiſhed from Papiſts at this Day. I had once an Occaſion to make this ſame Reflexion in a former Book * on another Writer, who is much ſuperior to our Author in Learning and Ingenuity: And I never heard that he took it unkindly at my Hands for ſo doing: For an Hiſtorian's Buſineſs is only to find out Truth as well as he can, and then deliver it to others fairly without Diſguiſe, or any falſe Colours put upon it. And therefore I hope

* Scholiaſt. Hiſt. of Baptiſm. Part I. Chap. i. p. 97.

hope our Author will take Occaſion to amend this grand Error, whenever he has Opportunity to write any Thing farther upon this Subject. His Time would be much better imployed in Reading and Conſidering the Books of ſome of thoſe Excellent Writers I have referred him to, than in Collecting an Heap of Rubbiſh from *Alexander Roſſe* or any other ſuch Injudicious Writers.

3. BUT there is one Thing more I muſt put this Author and his Readers in mind of: That whilſt he bears ſo hard upon the poor *Waldenſes*, and *Albigenſes*, and *Wickleviſts*, and *Huſſites*, and *Lollards*, he has not one Syllable in all his *Index* of the grand Errors of the *Romaniſts* or *Papiſts*, under any Title or Denomination whatſoever. He cannot pretend they fell not directly in his Way: For he treats of Modern Sects and Heterodoxies as well as Ancient. Neither did he want his Guide here; for *Alexander Roſſe* has a whole Section of Fifty Pages in his Book upon the Subject. Or if he had ſaid nothing upon it, yet it might have become a new *Hereſiologiſt* to have taken

Notice of the Errors of the *Romaniſts* upon ſome Title or other. Their Errors are as Conſiderable and Dangerous, as moſt other Modern Sects; Why then have they no Place in the *Index?* Is Tranſubſtantiation no Error? Is Idolatry in its various Species of Worſhipping Saints, Angels, Images, Relicks, the Hoſt, and the Croſs, no Crime? Is not the *Hildebrandine* Hereſy, as our Writers Style it, that is, the Doctrine of Depoſing Kings, an Error worth mentioning? Nor the Pope's Pretence to Infallibility and Univerſal Power over the Church, worthy of a Proteſtant's Cenſure? Is it no Crime to exempt the Clergy from the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate; nor any Wrong done them to impoſe Celibacy upon them? Have the People no Injury done them in keeping the Scriptures locked up in an unknown Tongue? Or being oblig'd to have Divine Service in a Language they do not underſtand? Or in being deprived ſacrilegiouſly of one Half of the Communion? Or in having the abſolute Neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion impoſed upon them? Is there no Harm in the Uſe of Interdicts and Indulgences?

Are

Are Private and Solitary Maſſes, and the Doctrine of Purgatory, with many other Errors, ſuch Innocent Things, that it was not worth an Hiſtorian's while to give his Readers any Notice of them, or Caution againſt them? Our Author knows, I have fairly combated moſt of theſe Things, and ſhewed them to be Novelties and great Corruptions, in the ſeveral Parts of my *Origines*, as I had Occaſion to meet with them. Therefore the leaſt he could have done, had been to refer his Readers to thoſe Parts of his own *Epitome*, or my *Origines*, where theſe Things are treated, if he was not minded to give them in one View in his own Collections.

BUT he is as favourable to the *Anti-Epiſcopal* Men, or *Presbyterians*, as he is to the *Papiſts*. For he gives them no Place in his Catalogue neither. I ſuppoſe he was in haſte for the Preſs, and conſidered not that he had made ſuch an Omiſſion. But he ſhould now conſider, that he who falſely objects it to the *Waldenſes*, That they rejected Epiſ-

copacy (which they always carefully maintained) ſhould not have paſſed over in Silence thoſe Men who oppoſe Epiſcopacy, when he might with Juſtice and Truth have charged them with it as their proper Heterodoxy, from which their Denomination of *Anti-Epiſcopal*, or *Presbyterian*, is taken. But this is not all the Defect of his *Index*.

IF this Author would have given a Perfect Catalogue of *All* the Original Hereſies from the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, together with the more remarkable Heterodoxies which appeared in theſe later Times, he ſhould have inſerted many other Names, both Ancient and Modern, which are now omitted in his Catalogue. In the firſt Century; The *Thebulians*, *Cleobians*, *Doſitheans*, *Gorthæans*, *Merinthians*: Not to mention *Demas*, *Hermogenes*, *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, *Alexander* the Copper-ſmith, *Diotrephes*, and the Doctrine of *Jeſabel*, which are noted in Scripture. In the Second Century, *Baſſus*, a new Diſciple of *Valentinus*. In the Third Century, the *Diſcalceati*, *Apocaritæ*, *Dicartitæ*, and

and *Solitarij*, which were new Branches of the *Manichees*. In the Fourth Century, the *Minai*, *Adelphians*, *Pſathyrians* and *Lucianiſts*, two new Branches of the *Arians*, *Adelophagi*, *Theoponitæ*, *Triſcilidæ* or *Triformiani*, *Hydrotheitæ*, *Cyrthiani* and *Pytheciani*, new Sects of *Arians*, *Gyrovagi*, *Homuncionitæ*, *Ametritæ*, *Pſychopneumones*, *Adecerditæ*, *Sarabaitæ* or *Remboth*, *Paſſioniſtæ*, *Nyctages*, *Theophronians*, *Metagenetæ*, *Sabbatians* or *Protopaſchites*. In the Fifth Century, the *Vigilantians* and *Maſſilienſes*. In the Sixth Century the *Marcianiſts* or Followers of *Marcianus Trapezita*, the *Tetraditæ*, and *Severians*, with the ſeveral Branches that ſprung from them, the *Contobabditæ*, *Paulians*, *Theodoſians*, *Damianiſts*, *Petrites*, *Cononites*, *Corrupticolæ*; together with the Errors of *Peter Moggus* and *Peter Gnapheus* or *Fullo*, which made a great Noiſe in the Hiſtory of this Age; as did alſo the Practices of *Zeno* with his *Henoticon*, and *Anaſtaſius* againſt the Council of *Chalcedon*. In the Seventh Century, *Joannes Philoponus* and *Ethicoproſcoptæ*. The Eighth Century was famous for the Diſputes between the *Iconoclaſts* and the

Icono-

Iconolatræ, Image-Worſhippers and Image-Breakers: And the Errors of the Second Council of *Nice* might have been ſet forth in a much more advantageous View, had our Author been pleaſed to have acquainted his Reader with the brave Oppoſition that was made againſt it by the Council of *Francford* and other Councils and Writers of that and the following Ages, in his Hiſtory of the General Councils. The Ninth and the Tenth Ages, *Prateolus* is pleaſed to ſay, Was a perfect Interregnum of Hereticks, a Ceſſation and Reſt of the Church for Two Hundred Years and more from all Heretical Infeſtation. Others more properly call theſe the dark and ignorant Ages, when the Enemy ſowed his Tares, whilſt Men were aſleep. And *Baronius* himſelf cannot forbear upon ſome Accounts to call them *Infeliciſſima Romanæ Eccleſiæ Tempora & omnium luctuoſiſſima*, the moſt unhappy and deplorable Times of the *Roman* Church, when weak Men were in Danger of being ſcandalized by ſeeing the Abomination of Deſolation ſet in the Temple. If our Author had been as inquiſitive

ſitive as it became him, he might have found the great Idol of Tranſubſtantiation begun to be formed in the Errors of *Paſchaſius Rathbertus* in theſe Ages, though not fully completed till ſome Ages after in the Council of *Lateran:* And the Seeds of the *Hildebrandine* Hereſy ſpringing up in the bold Attempts of the Popes of theſe Ages againſt the Power of Princes, till it came to its full Maturity under *Hildebrand* himſelf, called *Gregory* VII: To mention no more of the Popiſh Errors, which our Author thought fit wholly to paſs over. In the Twelfth Century he might have found the Errors of *Durandus de Waldach*, and *Petrus Abælardus*, and *Gilbertus Porretanus*, and the *Coterelli*, and the *Populicans*, to have added to his *Index*. But above all the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries would have furniſhed him with great Abundance of more remarkable Errors to have filled up his Catalogue inſtead of the *Wicklevites* and *Huſſites*, and *Waldenſes*, and *Albigenſes*. For now appeared in the Thirteenth Century the Errors of Abbot *Joachim*, and *Petrus Joannes de Oliva*, and

John

John de Parma, the Author of the infamous Book, called, *Evangelium Æternum*, The Everlaſting Goſpel, which was to ſuperſede and ſet aſide the Goſpel of CHRIST, under Pretence of introducing the more ſpiritual Goſpel of the HOLY GHOST. *Eimericus* has noted Seven and Twenty Errors and Blaſphemies contained in this Book, which the *Mendicant* Fryers in thoſe Days highly magnified. But our Author needed not to have gone ſo high as *Eimericus* for them: For Biſhop *Stillingfleet* gives an ample Account of them in his *Fanatiſciſm of the Church of* Rome. As he does alſo of the Errors of *Gerardus Segarelli*, and the *Dulciniſts*, and *Herman* of *Ferraria*, and the Book called, *The Flowers of St.* Francis, and another, *The Conformities of St.* Francis *and* CHRIST. To which may be added the Errors of *Raymundus Lullius*, and *David Dinantius*, and *Bugaurius de Monte Falcone*, together with the Errors of *Joannes Guion*, and *Joannes de Mercuria*, and *Nicolas de Ultricuria*, and *Dionyſius Soulechat* a *Franciſcan*, and *Joannes de Calore*, and one *Ludovicus*, and *Guido* an *Auſtin*

ſtin Hermit, with ſome others that were condemned in theſe Ages by *Guilielmus Pariſienſis* and *Stephanus Pariſienſis*, with the Concurrence of the Univerſity of *Paris*, and are to be found at the End of ſome Editions of *Peter Lombard*, with the Errors of *Peter Lombard* himſelf, under this Title, *Articuli in quibus Magiſter Sententiarum communiter non tenetur. Lombard. Sentent. Lugd.* 1594. 8°. *Spondanus* adds to theſe, the *Condormientes*, and *Paſtorelli*, and *Guido de Lacha*, and the *Humiliati*, and the *Ordo Apoſtolorum*: All which appeared within the Compaſs of the Thirteenth Century, beſides the Famous Diſputes between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, which continued in the following Ages. In the Fourteenth Century, there are the Errors of *Arnaldus Montanerius*, and *Arnaldus de Villa Nova*, *Bertoldus de Roback*, *Martinus Gonſalvus Conchenſis*, *Nicolaus Calaber*, *Bartholomæus Janoveſius*, the *Bizochi*, and *Fratres de Paupere Vita*, the *Pſeudapoſtoli*, *Joannes de Latone*, *Joannes Hato*, the Sect of the *Impuri*, *Raimundus de Terraga*, *Amadeus Luſitanus*; the *Albati*, who travelled with great Admiration

for

for their Sanctity over all Parts of *Europe*; the *Templars*, whoſe Order was extinguiſhed in the Council of *Vienna*; the *New Sabellians* of *Spain*, who maintained upon the Hypotheſis of Tranſubſtantiation, That the *Euchariſt* was both FATHER, SON and HOLY GHOST; the Errors of *Franciſcus Ceccus*, an *Italian* Aſtrologer; the wild Diſputes between the *Palamites* and *Joannes Cantacuzenus* on the one Side, and *Barlaam* and *Acyndinus* on the other, concerning the Light of *Mount Tabor*; the Revelations of St. *Brigit* and St. *Catharine* for and againſt the Immaculate Conception of the *Virgin Mary*; the Diſputes about the ſame Matter between the *Dominicans* and the *Franciſcans*; and the more fierce Diſputes of thoſe Orders concerning the Poverty of JESUS CHRIST; Of which Biſhop *Stillingfleet* gives an ample Account in his *Fanaticiſm of the Church of Rome*, and the Author of *The Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm* an Account no leſs entertaining: Add to theſe, the Errors of Pope *John* XXII, Ninety of which are laid to his Charge by our Countryman *Guilelmus Ockam*, for which he himſelf with his Friends

Friends *Joannes Pariſienſis*, *Joannes de Poliaco*, *Petrus de Vineis*, *Joannes de Janduno*, and *Marſilius de Padua*, with many others, are charg'd with Hereſy, being in Reality firm to the Defence of the Imperial Power againſt the Papal. A Collection of whoſe Tracts may be found together in *Goldaſtus Monarchia Imperij Romani, ſeu de Juriſdictione & Poteſtate Imperatoris & Papæ, per varios Auctores.* 3 Vol. *Hanov.* 1612. *Fol.*

IN the Fifteenth Century there are the famous Diſputes between the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* on the one Side, and the Council of *Florence* on the other, concerning the Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope above General Councils; the Error of the Council of *Conſtance* in taking away the Cup from the People; the Error of the Council of *Baſil* in Determining for the Immaculate Conception. There are alſo the Errors of *Auguſtinus de Roma*, *Joannes Parvi*, *Franciſcus Georgius Venetus*, *Laurentius Valla*, a Reviver of *Sabellianiſm*, *Nicholas Machiavel*, *Matthæus Palmerius*, *Petrus de Aranda*, *Fanatici Suevenſes*, *Matthias Tiburtinus*,

Tiburtinus a *Franciſcan Enthuſiaſt*, *Tympaniſta Germanus*, and a Sect called *Opinioniſts*, not to mention *Henricus Harphius*, whoſe Errors, becauſe they are cenſured and expurged only by the Order of the *Roman Index*, are of a more doubtful Nature. There was alſo in the Beginning of this Age, one *Vincentius Ferrerius*, a *Catalonian* Preacher, who is now cry'd up as a great Saint by *Spondanus* and *Baronius*, and other Writers of the *Roman* Church: But there was a Time when he was condemned as an Heretick by *Eimericus* the Inquiſitor, for aſſerting, among other Things, That *Judas* repented unto Salvation. To which may be added the Errors of *Quadrigarius* and *Munerius*, cenſured by the *Sorbone*, *An.* 1442, and 1470.

THE Sixteenth Century had but a little Time before the REFORMATION was begun by *Zuinglius* and *Luther*: Yet in this ſhort Interval our Author might have noted *Hermannus Riſſuick*, and the *Foſſarij* in *Bohemia*, and *Petrus Pomponatius* in *Italy*, who read publick Lectures againſt the Immortality of the Soul.

Soul. And if he had added, *Thomas de Vio*, commonly called, Cardinal *Cajetan*, he would have had the Authority of *Prateolus* and *Ambroſius Catharin* alſo, who wrote a Book particularly againſt *Cajetan*, wherein he objects to him above Two Hundred Errors, an Extract of which may be found in *Flaccius Illyricus de Controverſiis Religionis Papiſticæ.* p. 138. *Baſil.* 1565. 4°.

WE are now come to the Age of the REFORMATION, where our Author has noted many Sects and Heterodoxies, but omitted abundance more, that were very conſiderable. *Catharin*, who condemned *Cajetan*, had alſo his Errors noted by others. *Sotomajor* in his *Index* prohibits ſome of his Books to be read, and orders others to be expurged: But one may queſtion whether that was done for his Real Errors, or only for his Opinions inclining to the Proteſtant Side. But his Opinion of an Intermediate State after the End of this World, in a new Earth between Heaven and Hell, for thoſe who are neither ſo Good as to be admit-

ted into Heaven, nor ſo Bad as to be condemned to Hell, is an Error that might have been worthy our Author's Obſervation. He ſpeaks of the *Anabaptiſts*, but with a great deal of Confuſion, whereas others diſtinguiſh them into at leaſt Fourteen Sects, according to their peculiar Tenets, the *Muncerians*, the *Apoſtolici*, the *Separati*, the *Cathari*, the *Silentes*, the *Enthuſiaſts*, the *Liberi*, the *Adamitæ*, the *Hutitæ*, the *Auguſtinians*, *Beuckeldians*, the *Melchiorites*, the *Georgians*, and the *Mennoniſts*. Some add to theſe the *Paſtoricidæ*, the *Nudipedes*, the *Manifeſtarij*, the *Clancularij*, the *Baculares*, the *Batembargici*, the *Pacifici*, the *Sangainarij*. Our Author mentions ſome of theſe under their proper Titles, but he omits the greateſt Part of them. And he ought to have diſtinguiſhed our Engliſh *Anabaptiſts* from thoſe of other Countries, becauſe they abhor many of their Opinions. In giving an Account of the *Antitrinitarians*, he ſays, they are the Spawn of the old *Arians* and *Samoſatenians*, grafted upon their Stock by *Michael Servetus*. Whereas *Servetus* was no *Arian*, nor *Samoſatenian*, but

but a Reviver of *Sabellianiſm*, in which he was followed by *Keckerman* and many others, who never met with ſo ſevere a Cenſure. The Authors of Modern *Arianiſm* were *Valentinus Gentilis*, and *Georgius Blandrata*, and *Gregorius Pauli*, and *Matthæus Gribaldus*, and *Franciſcus David*, and *Joannes Paulus Alciat*, and *Joannes Campanus*, and *Lælius Socinus*, Uncle to *Fauſtus Socinus*, of whom our Author ſhould have given a particular Account under their ſeveral Titles. He ſhould alſo have given ſome Account of the Errors of *Julius Cæſar Vaninus*, and *Andreas Cæſalpinus* and *Hobbes*, who were in the ſame Claſs with *Spinoſa*. It had alſo been worth his while to have told his Reader what were the ſingular Opinions or Heterodoxies of *Archer*, who among other Blaſphemies maintained publickly in Print, That GOD was the Author of Sin, for which he was cenſured by the Aſſembly of Divines, and his Book burnt by the common Hangman, *An.* 1645. He ſhould alſo have noted the Errors of *Jacob Behmen*, and *Antonietta Bourignon* (againſt whom Dr. *Cockburn* wrote) and

Hieronymus Cardanus, and *Curcellæus*, and *Epiſcopius*, and *Arminius*; and the Errors of *Grotius*, after he fell into his Deſigns of Comprehenſion, and favourable Interpretations both of the *Popiſh* and *Socinian* Tenets, which plainly appear in his later Writings: The Errors alſo of the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*; The New Hereſy of the *Jeſuits*, as the *Janſeniſts* themſelves call it, which aſſerts the Pope to be Infallible not only in Matters of Faith, but Matters of Fact; and gives him Power to dethrone Princes, and abſolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance to them: Which Doctrine every where occurs in the Writings of *Bellarmin* againſt *Barclay*, and *Widdrinton* under the Name of *Sculkenius*, and in *Becanus*, and *Mariana*, and *Suarez*, and *Leſſius*, and *Azorius*, and *Emanuel Sa*, and Hundreds of others, ſome of whoſe Books together with *Baronius* have been publickly burnt at *Paris* and *Madrid* by the Hands of the common Hangman. To theſe might have been added the new Doctrine of the *Jeſuits* in Morality, largely ſet forth in the Books called, *Provincial Letters*,

ters, and *the* Jeſuits *Morals*; chiefly taken out of *Eſcobar*, *Filliucius*, and ſuch other Writers. As alſo the Doctrine of Probability, taught by *Caramuel*, which opens a Way to Licentiouſneſs; for which he ſtands condemned and branded, even in the *Roman Index*, under this Title, *Joannis Caramuelis Apologema pro Antiquiſſima & Univerſaliſſima Doctrina de Probabilitate, prorſus prohibetur.* There are alſo no leſs than Forty-five Propoſitions of the *Jeſuits* Caſuiſtical Divinity, whereof this Doctrine of Probability is one, condemned by Two Bulls of *Alexander* VII, at the End of the *Roman Index*, which would have appeared well in our Author's Collection. As alſo the Cenſures of the Parliament of *Paris* and the *Sorbone* upon the *Propoſitions* of *Santarellus*, *An.* 1626, wherein he aſſerted the Pope's Depoſing Power: The Cenſure of the *Sorbone* upon the *Jeſuits An.* 1661. for aſſerting, That the Pope has the ſame Infallibility as JESUS CHRIST in Matters of Fact, as well as Right: And the Cenſure of the *Sorbone*, *An.* 1561, upon another Author for aſſerting, That the Pope has

Power to diſpoſe of the Dominions of Heretical Princes, and abſolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity. All which may be found in the Book, called, *The pernicious Conſequences of the new Hereſy of the* Jeſuits. *Richerius* alſo gives us the Cenſures of the *Sorbone*, upon one *Ludovicus Coubont* for aſſerting, That Biſhops have not their Authority immediately from JESUS CHRIST, but from the Pope: And another upon *Ludovicus Cellotius* for maintaining, That General Councils have their Authority only from the Pope: And another upon *Francis Guillou*, and a fourth upon *Jacobus Vernant*, for the ſame Aſſertions; beſides the Cenſure of *Sanctarellus* the *Jeſuit*, which is alſo there related. *Richer. Vindic. Doctrinæ Scholæ* Paris. In another Book of *Richerius*, *De Poteſtate Papæ in Temporalibus*, we have the Arreſts of the Parliament of *Paris* againſt *Tanquerel* and Cardinal *Perron*, and *Bernardinus Caſtorius*, for Publiſhing the Infamous Bull *de Cœna Domini*, and againſt *Joannes Caſtellus*, and *Florentinus Jacob*, and *Ravaillac* who murdered *Henry* IV. of *France*, upon the Depoſing Principles; as

alſo

alſo the Arreſts againſt *Bellarmin*, and *Martin Becanus*, and *Sculkenius*, that is, *Bellarmin* himſelf again, and *Suarez*, for their ſeveral pernicious Books upon the ſame Subject. An Account of which would have been a Grace to our Author's Catalogue of Mordern Heterodoxies. Farther yet; if he had looked into Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Book of the Diviſions of the *Roman* Clergy, he might there have found, beſides the Schiſms of the Popes in former Ages, and their Contentions with the Emperors for Temporal Power, and the Feuds of the Monaſtick Orders one with another, a particular Account of the *Jeſuits* Oppoſition to Epiſcopal Power and Juriſdidiction, in the Books of *Nicholas Smith* and *Thomas à Jeſu*; which Books were cenſured firſt by the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, then by the *Sorbone*, and at laſt by the Biſhops of *France* in an Aſſembly of them at *Paris*. To theſe he might have added the Books which the *Jeſuits* publiſhed under the feigned Names of *Hermannus Loemelius*, and *Edmundus Urſulanus*, and the *Jeſuits Cenſure of the Apoſtolical Creed*, to ridicule the Cenſures of *Paris*: And

how theſe again were anſwered by *Hallier*, and *le Maiſtre*, and *Petrus Aurelius*; who ſhewed that theſe Doctrines were maintained by the *Jeſuits*; " That the Epiſcopal Order was " not neceſſary to the Being of a Particular " Church; That Epiſcopacy was not by " Divine Right; That Confirmation might " be given without Biſhops; That the Mo- " naſtical Order was more perfect than the " Epiſcopal; and that Regulars were exempt " from the Juriſdiction of Biſhops. And all " that was done at *Rome* againſt theſe Do- " ctrines, was only to ſuppreſs the Books on " both Sides; which the *Pariſian* Doctors " highly complained of, That ſuch ſcandalous " and ſeditious Books as thoſe of the *Je-* " *ſuits*, ſhould meet with the ſame Favour " at *Rome*, as the Cenſure of the Biſhops of " *France*; that their profane and atheiſtical " Cenſure of the *Apoſtles Creed*, muſt have no " Mark of Diſgrace put upon it, nor ſuch " Sayings of theirs, wherein they call the Bi- " ſhops and Divines of *France* by moſt contu- " melious Names, and ſay, they are the Ene- " mies of Truth and Piety." If our Author had

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looked a little farther into Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, he might have found how barbarouſly they uſed *Don Arnando Guerrero*, Biſhop of the *Philippine* Iſlands, becauſe he condemned them in a Synod for acting independent of his Juriſdiction: And the like Uſage of the Biſhop of *Angelopolis* in *America*, for the very ſame Reaſon: And what horrible Things are contained in their Catechiſms which they gave to their new Converts in *China*, which the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* condemned in Seventeen Decrees at *Rome*, *An.* 1645. The ſhort of their Inſtructions was this: "To "ſpeak little of CHRIST Crucified, but to "conceal that ſmall and inconſiderable Cir-"cumſtance of the Chriſtian Doctrine as "much as may be; to uſe all the ſame Cu-"ſtoms that Idolaters did, only directing "all their Worſhip to CHRIST and the "Saints; Not to trouble themſelves about "Faſting, Penance, Confeſſion, and Partici-"pation of the *Euchariſt*, or the Severity of "Repentance and Mortification." Are not theſe as Pernicious Errors as any that have appeared in theſe later Ages, and were they

not

not fit to be mentioned in an Account of Modern Heterodoxies? *Alphonſus de Vargas* a *Spaniard* has Four Books under theſe Titles againſt them: *Relatio ad Principes Chriſtianos de Stratagematis & Sophiſmis Politicis Societatis Jeſu ad Monarchiam Orbis terrarum ſibi conficiendam.* —— *Sedis Apoſtolicæ Cenſura adverſus Novam, Falſam, Impiam & Hæreticam Societatis Jeſu Doctrinam nuper in Hiſpania publicata.* —— *Jeſuitarum Fidei Symbolum velut Canticum novum.* —— *Actio Hæreſis in Societatem Jeſu.*

BUT our Author has paſſed over many other Modern Heterodoxies worthy of a Reader's Information: Such as the Errors of Dr. *John Dee* and *Kelley* concerning Converſation with Angels, publiſhed by *Meric Caſaubon.* Lond. 1659. The Errors of *Thomas Moretarius* and *Chriſtophorus Schaplerus*: The *Nicodemitæ*, written againſt by *Calvin*: *Nicholas Drabicius* a *German* Enthuſiaſt: *James Brocard* an Apocalyptical Prophet cenſured in the Proteſtant Synod of *Rochelle*, 1581. *Paul Grebner* a *Swediſh* Prophet: *Joannes Franciſcus Berri*:

Borri: *Bernardinus Ochin*, *Theophilus Aletheus*, and the Book called, *Polygamia Triumphatrix*, *John Milton*, *Cornelius Vythagius*, and other Defenders of Polygamy and Divorces: *Paionism*, cenſured by *Spanheim* in his *Elenchus*: The Errors of *Gulielmus Poſtellus*, *Pere Simon*, the *Sueyckfeldians*, *Vincentius Viviani* an *Italian* Fataliſt, *Conradus Vorſtius*, and the *Weigelians* and *Paracelſians*, called the New Prophets of *Germany*, an Account of whoſe Blaſphemies may be found in *Wendelin*'s Epiſtle Dedicatory to his Theology, and in *Hoornbeck*, *Thummius*, and *Beckman*, who have written particular Books againſt them.

To theſe might have been added very properly an Account of our late New Prophets in *England*, who made ſuch a Stir not many Years ago; and the *Maſonites* a little before them; together with the *Rationaliſts*, *Latitudinarians*, *Free-Thinkers*; and *Unioniſts*, who pretend that the Doctrine of *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* rightly repreſented are in a manner all one; ſuch were Father *Davenport*, otherwiſe called *Sancta Clara*, and

Mr.

Mr. *de Meaux* Biſhop of *Condome*, and ſuch other Reconcilers and Expoſitors of the Faith. The Errors alſo of *Toland* and *Aſgil*, and the Book called, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, might juſtly enough have found a Place in our Author's *Index*. So might alſo ſeveral Sects of *Fanaticks* in the late Confuſions between 1640 and 1660. The *Vaniſts* or Diſciples of Sir *Henry Vane*; the New *Bemeniſts*, headed by Dr. *Pordage*; the Followers of Dr. *Gell*, *Parker* and *Gibbon*; *Lewis du Moulin*, the *Levellers*, and many others who are deſcribed in *Edward*'s *Gangræna*, and *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, and other the like Accounts of thoſe Times.

OUR Author perhaps will now begin to think himſelf a little ſhort and deficient in his ſhort Account of All the Principal Hereſies ſince the Riſe of Chriſtianity: There being ſo many both Ancient and Modern, of which he has given no Account, nor ſo much as named or mentioned. If he ſays, it was needleſs; I ſay ſo too, with Reſpect to the Work he was about: But when he had

had undertaken it, he ſhould have made Good his Pretence, and taken Care that the Book ſhould have anſwered his Title. But perhaps this could not have been done without Writing a large Volume upon the Subject. Then he ſhould have let it all alone, and his *Epitome* would have been both the cheaper and the better for it. His Indigent Readers might have known what Ancient Hereſies were from St. *Auſtin de Hæreſibus* more Authentically, and alſo at an eaſier Rate: For it is but a Six-penny Book printed by itſelf at *Oxford*: And for Modern Sects, they are nothing to the Purpoſe of Antiquity; and therefore might have been omitted upon this Occaſion.

As to his Hiſtory of the Eight firſt General Councils, which runs to a great Length, I think that as needleſs as the other. For the late Worthy Author of the *Clergy-Man's Vade Mecum*, in his Second Volume has given all ſuch Readers a perfect Account of the Canons both of the *Univerſal* Code, and the *Roman* Code, and the *African* Code, down to the Year 787. Which I dare ſay is in the Hands

of

of moſt Poor Clergymen, before our Author in his great Compaſſion thought fit to take Pity on them. If he would have done any thing to the Purpoſe, it ſhould not have been *actum agere*, but to have given them a ſhort Account of thoſe *Latin* Councils which the foreſaid Author does not concern himſelf with, but are frequently uſed in my *Origines*. For which Reaſon I have given an Alphabetical and Chronological Index of them, being about an Hundred and Twenty in all, together with the Number of Canons contained in them: Which is enough to anſwer the End of my Undertaking.

I have ſupplied the Whole alſo with a General Index of Matter, referring diſtinctly to every Particular Volume, Book, Chapter, Section and Page throughout the Whole: And added a Catalogue of ſuch Authors as I have made uſe of in Compiling the Work from firſt to laſt. I had alſo ſome Thoughts of adding another Index of ſuch Authors as I have had no Opportunity to ſee or uſe, which yet may be of great Uſe to thoſe who are minded to improve

improve this Study of Church-Antiquities farther: But becauſe this Gentleman calls me to a Repetition of my Labours, and obliges me to be my own Epitomizer, (*Donatum Rude repoſcit, Atque iterum antiquo tentat me includere Ludo*) I will reſerve this for a more proper Occaſion: Wiſhing the Reader in the mean Time as much Pleaſure, Satisfaction, and Advantage in Reading without Labour, as I have had with a Mixture of great Labour in Compiling and Digeſting, theſe Collections.

POSTSCRIPT.

FOR the farther Improvement of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, if any vigorous young Men, of Learning, Application and good Judgment, are minded to employ themſelves that Way, theſe following Works may be proper to be undertaken by ſuch as have Opportunity of Books and Leiſure, eſpecially in the Univerſities.

1. A Supplement to my *Origines*, in a Book of Miſcellaneous Rites: which, if GOD ſhould be pleaſed to give me better Health, I ſhould be glad to purſue myſelf, though I think it now the leaſt Part of what is wanting.

2. A Catholick Comment upon the Scriptures, which is already begun, and carried on by a Learned and Diligent Writer.

3. A Body of Catholick Divinity in the Words of the ancient Writers; ſuch as the *Theologica Dogmata* of *Petavius* the *Jeſuit*, and *Thomaſin* the Oratorian among the *Romaniſts*.

4. A Body of Practical or Moral and Caſuiſtical Divinity: Of which I have had Occaſion to do a little, ſo far as relates to the great Crimes againſt the Ten Commandments, which fell under the Diſcipline of the Church. But a Complete Work in this Kind, extending to all Vertues and Vices, and Practical Caſes of all Sorts, would be much more diffuſive, and of excellent Uſe for Direction of

Preachers

Preachers and Caſuiſts upon all Moral Queſtions.

5. An Authentick Edition of the Canons of the Councils, *Greek* and *Latin*, in their Originals. For Tranſlations and Epitomes though they are of ſome Uſe to the Unlearned, are not ſatisfactory to Men of true Learning and Judgment, who will always have Recourſe to Originals. Dr. *Allix* once undertook this Work, and had very particular Favour ſhewed him by the Parliament in granting him foreign Paper without Duty, as I have been informed, and yet the Deſign by ſome Means or other proved abortive. The Acts of the Councils, which are different from the Canons, are much too long to be inſerted in ſuch an Edition: But the Canons themſelves may be comprized, in the Original *Greek* and *Latin*, in Two moderate Volumes in *Quarto*. Which would be exceeding uſeful to Scholars of a moderate Fortune, to have the valuable Part of the Voluminous Tomes of the Councils, Twenty or Thirty in Number, brought to their Hand in an Au-

thentick Manner, and at a very eaſy Rate: Whereas now ſuch Editions of the Councils as *Labbé*'s, are ſcarce to be found throughout a whole Dioceſe, except in the Cathedral Libraries or ſome Collegiate Church, where Few, that have Inclination, can have Acceſs to them without both Labour and Expence, except ſuch as are placed conveniently in the next Neighbourhood, as it pleaſed Providence to place me; without which Happineſs I had never had Ability to have gone through any Part of the Work which now, by the Bleſſing of GOD, I have lived to finiſh.

6. The Hiſtory of the Perſecutions and Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs, extracted out of their authentick *Acts*, and approved Hiſtorians, without the ſpurious Additions of nauſeous Legendary-Writers, and the uncertain *Martyrologiſts* of later Ages. I once made ſome Attempt toward this myſelf, and read many Parts of it for a Year or two, as Uſeful Afternoon Exhortations to Zeal and Conſtancy in Religion, in my Pariſh-Church. But

other

other Employments made me lay it aſide, and leave it Imperfect. Mr. *Ruinart*'s *Acta Martyrum ſincera*, and *Pagi*'s *Critick upon Baronius*, will be of particular Uſe to any one who is minded to ſet about ſuch a Work a-freſh, and bring it to Perfection. So will alſo the Book of *Meiſner*, *Kortholt* and *Gallonius*, which Dr. *Cave* (in his *Prolegomena*, p. 27. Vol. 1. Hiſt. Liter.) recommends to Mens Uſe upon this Subject. Mr. *Dodwell*'s 12th *Diſſertation upon St. Cyprian*, is an Excellent Diſcourſe to ſet forth the Cauſes of the Courage of the Primitive Martyrs: But the 11th *Diſſertation de Paucitate Martyrum*, ſerves for no other End, but only to ſhew what a great Man can ſay upon a bad Cauſe, and argue plauſibly upon a very ſlender and falſe Foundation, which the Undertaker of this Work is to beware of, and conſider well what *Ruinart* has ſaid againſt it.

7. THE Hiſtory of Hereſies, Heterodoxies and Schiſms; which, after all the Attempts that have been made upon it, has never been done to any tolerable Satisfaction or Perfe-

ction. Dr. *Cave* tells his Reader the Names of the common Authors that have written upon it: But he concludes after all, in theſe remarkable Words: *His tamen aliiſque plurimis, qui addi poterant, non obſtantibus, Opus accuratum de Hæreticis, præcipue antiquis, deque eorum Ortu, Progreſſu, Affinitate, Dogmatibus, Duratione, merito adhuc inter Deſiderata habendum eſt.* And I believe the Remarks I have now made upon one of the laſt Authors of this Kind, is a pretty good Evidence of the Truth of his Obſervation. I could ſay a great deal more upon this Subject, but what I have already hinted, is ſufficient to a wiſe Undertaker.

8. And laſtly, A Supplement to thoſe Two Great and Incomparable Writers, Dr. *Cave* and *Du Pin*, who have given the World ſuch an excellent Account of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. Nothing hardly can be ſo perfectly done in this Kind, but that ſtill conſiderable Additions may be made to it. The World has expected for ſome Time a third Volume of Dr. *Cave*'s, and that perhaps might ſuperſede all other Mens Labours: But

till

till that appears, I can be bold to ſay, there are many Authors lie hid from ordinary View: And that is enough to hint this as a Subject capable of farther Improvement: But there would be another Uſe alſo in it, to bring to Light the Knowledge of ſeveral Hiſtorians and other Writers, whoſe Teſtimony would give Confirmation to the Proteſtant Cauſe againſt the Corruptions of the *Romiſh* Church in later Ages.

AND now that I have mentioned this, I will add Two or Three Things more, that would be of great Advantage to the Church, if they were done by Perſons of Care and Judgment, though they have no Relation to Antiquity.

1. AN Account of the *Roman Indexes* of Prohibited and Expurged Books, ſhewing the Reaſons for which the Inquiſitors ſo carefully prohibit or expurge them. I am ſure by this Means a good Collection or Catalogue of Witneſſes for the Truth againſt the Manifeſt Corruptions of the *Romiſh* Church

might be extracted out of the Confeſſions of her own Writers.

2. A New Work of ſhort Marginal Annotations on the Bible, explaining only the moſt obvious Difficulties, that ſeem to puzzle ordinary Readers. The Learned have Annotations abundantly enough to ſerve their Turn; But there ſeems ſtill to be ſomething wanting of this Kind, for ordinary Readers. I have ſometimes put Learned Friends upon this Work, who perhaps were otherwiſe uſefully employed: And if I myſelf had not had the ſame Plea, I would have attempted ſomething of this Nature for the Benefit of Inferior People, who are allowed to read the Scriptures, and yet many Times want proper Helps to underſtand them: Which would be remedied very often, either by giving a little Turn and Light to the Tranſlation, or explaining ſome obſcure Phraſe, or ſome ancient Cuſtom, upon which the Underſtanding of the Text many times depends, with other ſuch Ways of accommodating the Scripture to the Capacities of the Vulgar.

3. Till

3. Till this were effected, a ſhort Expoſition of thoſe Chapters only which are read as proper Leſſons out of the *Old Teſtament*, might be a proper Help to Vulgar Capacities and ordinary Readers, to employ their Meditations upon thoſe Parts of Scripture, which the Church has choſen for their Edification and Inſtruction, and ſeem moſt to want ſome Light and Guide, to make them anſwer that End to them. If I am not miſtaken, I have ſeen ſuch a Work of Biſhop *Cooper*'s in former Times: But be it his or any others, I believe a Thing of this Kind Judiciouſly done, would generally be allowed to be an Uſeful Work, for the End it is propoſed and intended. We abound indeed with Poſthils, or Expoſitions on the Epiſtles and Goſpels, and large Annotations on the *Old* and *New Teſtament*: But theſe ſhort Expoſitions I have mentioned are much more needed; and That is enough to recommend the Work to a Pious Undertaker.

The PREFACE.

THE great Objection againſt all theſe Things is, That each of them is too great an Undertaking for any Single Man. I remember to have heard of the ſame Objection made by ſome againſt Me and my *Origines* upon Publiſhing the Firſt Volume of them. I bleſs GOD, I have lived to confute the Objection, and give the World a Proof that Great and Laborious Works are not always ſo Frightful as ſometimes they are imagined. I have given a little Specimen of what the Induſtry of a Single Perſon may do, in whom there is neither the greateſt Capacity, nor the ſtrongeſt Conſtitution. And having made the Experiment myſelf, I can with more Decency and Freedom recommend theſe Things to others, who are qualified to undertake them. But in ſaying this, I would not encourage every bold Empirick in Divinity or Hiſtory, to ſet about ſuch Works, which they are not any Ways qualified for, either for Want of Knowledge or Want of Judgment. To all ſuch the Poets Direction is much more Proper: *Sumite Materiam*

teriam veſtris, qui ſcribitis, æquam Viribus, & verſate diu quid ferre recuſent, Quid valeant humeri. The want of obſerving which Rule does abundantly more Harm than Good. For ſuch Mens Writings only ſerve to confound Learning, and leave Things in a much worſe State than they found them. The World has daily Experiment of this, to the Prejudice both of good Literature and Religion. Therefore what I have ſaid by way of Encouragement is not to theſe, but to the truly Judicious, the Inquiſitive, the Modeſt, and the Learned, who want nothing but Courage proportionable to their Underſtanding, to make them become great Inſtruments of GOD's Glory in doing Uſeful Things for the Service of his Church. This Church has never wanted ſuch Brave Spirits, and I hope never will, to ſet forth Truth with all the Advantages of Learning, and confound the Oppoſition that is made to it by all the Enemies of Religion, whether they be the more Profeſt Attackers, or the Secret Underminers of its Foundation. The Bleſſing of GOD be upon

upon all thoſe, who have Ability and Will to undertake Great and Uſeful Works for the Promotion of Piety and Religion, and to ſtand in the Gap againſt all the Enemies of Truth.



THE

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THE

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE Christian Church.

BOOK XXIII.

Of Funeral Rites, or the Custom and Manner of burying the Dead, observed in the Ancient CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of Cemeteries, *or Burying-Places, with an Enquiry, How and when the Custom of Burying in Churches first came in.*

Sect. 1. *A* Cemetery *a common Name for a Burying-Place and a Church. How this came to pass.*

BEFORE we say any thing of the Sacred Rites and Customs observed in burying the Dead, it will be necessary to give some Account of the Places where they were buried. That the

the Chriſtians had anciently ſome Places peculiar to themſelves for burying their Dead, is evident from hence, That they often met in Times of Perſecution to celebrate Divine Service at the Graves and Monuments of their Martyrs: Which had not been proper Places for ſuch Meetings, had they been common to them with the Heathens. Theſe were called by a general Name κοιμητήρια, *Cæmeteria*, Dormitories or Sleeping-Places, becauſe they eſteemed Death but a Sleep, and the Bodies there depoſed not properly Dead, but only laid to ſleep till the Reſurrection ſhould awaken them. Theſe were otherwiſe called *Areæ Sepulturarum* [*a*], and *Cryptæ* [*b*] becauſe they were Vaults often made under-ground, where the Chriſtians could meet with greater Safety to hold Religious Aſſemblies in Time of Perſecution. Upon which Account, as I have noted elſewhere [*], all theſe were common Names both of Burying-Places and Places of Religious Aſſemblies. Whence the Heathens often, when they would forbid Chriſtians to hold any Aſſemblies for Divine Service, forbid them their *Areæ*; as in that Place of *Tertullian*, *Areæ non ſint*, Let the Chriſtians have none of their *Areæ* to meet in [*c*]; and the like Prohibitions we find in other Places. So in like manner *Æmylian* the *Roman* Prefect tells *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* [*d*], that

[*a*] Tertul. ad Scapul. cap. 3. [*b*] Hieron. Com. in Ezek. cap. 40. [*] Book VIII. Chap. I. n. 9.

[*c*] Vid. Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 3. Et Geſta Purgationis Cæcilian. ad Calcem Optati. p. 272. & 277. Item Paſſio Cypriani. p. 12. [*d*] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 11. οὐδαμῶς ἐξέσαι ὑμῖν, ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι.

that they ſhould not have Liberty to go into their Cemeteries, as they called them, and there hold their Aſſemblies for Divine Worſhip. In all which Places it is evident the Words are taken promiſcuouſly both for Burying-places and Places of Aſſembling for religious Worſhip. Which would incline a Man almoſt to think, were there not otherwiſe inſuperable Arguments againſt it, that it was the ancient Cuſtom of the moſt primitive Chriſtians to bury in Churches.

Sect. 2. *No Burying-places in Cities or Churches for the firſt Three hundred Years.*

BUT upon a nicer Inquiry and more exact View, we are ſure there neither was nor could be any Burying in Churches properly ſpeaking for the firſt three hundred Years. Neceſſity ſometimes forced the Chriſtians, during this Interval, to hold their Aſſemblies in the Burying-places of the Martyrs, and ſo make a Sort of extraordinary and temporary Churches of them; as they might do of any Cave or Place of Retirement in ſuch Circumſtances: For as *Dyoniſius* of *Alexandria* [e] well words it, Every Place is inſtead of a Temple in Time of Perſecution, whether it be a Field, or a Wilderneſs, or a Ship, or an Inn, or a Priſon. But this occaſional Uſe in an extraordinary Caſe and extreme Neceſſity, does not properly make them Churches, that is, Places ſet apart only for Divine Service. And therefore the Occaſional Meetings of the Primitive Chriſtians in their Cemeteries, or at the Graves and Monu-

[e] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 22.

ments of the Martyrs, did not as yet turn them into Churches: Neither can it be ſaid with any Propriety upon this Account, that they then buried in Churches, but only that they made a ſort of extraordinary Churches or Places of Occaſional Aſſembly at the Graves or Burying-places of the Dead. Their Churches, which were their ſtanding and proper Churches, were chiefly then in Cities, and in moſt Places it may be in Cities only: And the *Roman* Laws all that Time forbad all Burying in Cities to Perſons of every Rank and Quality whatſoever. Conſequently the Chriſtians, who lived in a due Obedience and Subjection to the *Roman* Laws in all Things of an innocent and indifferent Nature, no ways interfering with the neceſſary Rules of their Religion, were as ready to comply with this innocent Law or Cuſtom as any others: And that is an undoubted Argument, that the Chriſtians neither did nor could then bury in Churches. The Heathens indeed themſelves ſometimes brake through the Laws, and in Spite of Prohibition and Reſtraint would preſume to bury in Cities: But we no where find this Accuſation of tranſgreſſing the Laws in this Particular brought againſt the Chriſtians; but rather the Chriſtians objected the Tranſgreſſion of it to the Heathens: As *Savaro* in his Learned Notes upon *Sidonius Apollinaris* [*f*] ſhews out of ſeveral Paſſages of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Julius Firmicus*, *Prudentius* and others. It was one of the original Laws of the Twelve Tables, *In Urbe ne ſepelito*,

[*f*] Savaro in Sidon. Lib. 3. Ep. 12. p. 208. Et Dallæus de Objecto Cultus Religioſi. Lib. 4. cap. 7. p. 620.

ſepllito, neve urito [*g*], Let no one bury or burn in the City. This was afterward confirmed, upon ſome Tranſgreſſion, by a Decree of the Senate when *Duellius* was Conſul, as *Savaro* ſhews farther out of *Servius*'s Obſervations upon *Virgil*. And then for ſome Time the Practice was to bury only in the Suburbs, and not in the City, as the ſame Author ſhews out of *Tully*, *Livy* and *Ovid*. Afterward upon ſome Invaſion made again upon the Law (for the Heathens were ſtill ambitious of Burying in the Temples) *Hadrian* publiſhed a new Edict to forbid it [*h*], laying a Penalty of Forty Pieces of Gold upon any one that ſhould preſume to bury in the City, and as much upon the Judges that permitted it; ordering the Place to be confiſcated, and the Body to be removed. And no Municipal or Private Laws in this Caſe, *Ulpian* ſays, were to be regarded againſt the General Law of the Prince. *Antoninus Pius* Succeſſor to *Hadrian*, revived the ſame Law, forbidding any to bury the Dead within the Cities, as *Julius Capitolinus* [*i*] the Writer of his Life informs us. And *Gothofred* [*k*] cites *Paulus* the eminent Lawyer, as

 concurring

[*g*] Cicero de Legibus. Lib. 2. n. 58.

[*h*] Ulpian. in Digeſt. Lib. 47. Tit. 12. de Sepulcro violato. Leg. 3. Divus Hadrianus Reſcripto pœnam Statuit quadraginta Aureorum in eos, qui in Civitate ſepeliunt; & in Magiſtratus eadem qui paſſi ſunt: Et locum publicari juſſit, & corpus transferri. &c.

[*i*] Capitolin. Vit. Antonini Pij. p. 60. Intra Urbes ſepeliri mortuos vetuit.

[*k*] Paulus Sentent. Lib. 1. cap. ult. Corpus in Civitatem inferri non licet, ne funeſtentur ſacra Civitatis; Et qui contra ea fecerit, extra ordinem punitur. ap. Gothofred. in Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de ſepulcris Violatis. Leg. 6.

concurring in the ſame Judgment, and giving a good Reaſon for it: It is not lawful for any Corps to be buried in the City, that the ſacred Places of the City be not defiled. Finally *Diocletian* [*l*] mentions and confirms theſe preceding Laws by a Law of his own, wherein he gives the ſame Reaſon againſt Burying in Cities, as *Paulus* did before. Hence it was, that Graves and Monuments were commonly erected by the Highways-ſide without the Cities, as *Varro* an ancient *Roman* Writer [*m*] obſerves, giving a farther Reaſon for it, That Paſſengers might be admoniſhed that they themſelves were mortal, as well as thoſe that lay buried there. *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* were buried in the *Via Appia* [*n*], and *Domitian* in the *Via Latina* [*o*]. And accordingly *Juvenal* [*p*] ſpeaks of the Dead in general, as thoſe that lay buried in the *Via Flaminia* and *Latina* [*q*]. St. *Peter* upon this Account was buried in the *Via Triumphalis* beyond the

[*l*] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 3. Tit. 44. de Religioſis & ſumptibus Funerum. Leg. 12. Mortuorum reliquias, ne ſanctum Municipiorum Jus polluatur, intra Civitatem condi jam pridem vetitum eſt.

[*m*] Varro de Lingua Latina. Lib. 5. *cited by* Gothofred. Sepulchra ideo ſecundum viam ſunt, quo prætereuntes admoneant, & ſe fuiſſe, & illos eſſe mortales. Vid. Tertul. de Teſtimonio Animæ. cap. 4.

[*n*] Seneca, Apocolocynth. Claud. Appiæ Viæ Curator eſt, qua ſcis & Divum Auguſtum & Tiberium Cæſarem ad Deos iſſe.

[*o*] Sueton. Vit. Domitiani. cap. 17.

[*p*] Juvenal. Sat. 1. in fine. Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

[*q*] Vid. plura ap. Dempſter. in Roſini Antiq. Rom. Lib. 5. cap. ult. p. 1006.

the *Tiber*, as St. *Jerom* [r] informs us: And St. *Paul* in the *Via Oſtienſis*, Three Miles without the Gate of the City [s] as the ſame Author, and all others that ſpeak of their Deaths aſſure us. Nay *Sidonius Apollinaris* aſſures us farther, that the Place where St. *Peter* was buried, tho' there was then a Church built over it, was ſtill in his Time, *An.* 470. without the *Pomœria*, or Space before the Walls of *Rome*. For ſpeaking of his Journey to *Rome*, he ſays, before ever he came at the *Pomœria* of the City, he went and ſaluted the Church of the Apoſtles, which ſtood in the *Via Triumphalis*. Sidon. Lib. 1. Ep. 5. *Priuſquam vel Pomœria contingerem, Triumphalibus Apoſtolorum Liminibus affuſus*, &c. Which implies, that his Monument and Church was ſtill without the Walls. And ſo generally the Graves and Monuments of the Martyrs are ſpoken of as being without the Cities. As St. *Cyprian*'s [t] in *Via Mappalienſi*: And *Sixtus* in the *Cemitery* of *Calixtus* in the *Via Appia* [u] and his Six Deacons in the *Cemitery* of *Prætextatus*, *Via Appia*; and St. *Laurence* in the *Crypta*, *Via Tiburtina*. And upon this Account in after Ages, when they held Aſſemblies at the Monuments of the Martyrs, we always find them ſpeaking of going out of the Cities into the Country, where the Martyrs lay buried. Thus *Chryſoſtom* in one of his Homilies upon the Martyrs ſays [x], As before when the Feſtival of the *Macchabees* was celebrated, all the Country came thronging into the City: So now, when the Feſtival of the

[r] Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 1. [s] Ibid. cap. 5.
[t] Paſſio Cypriani. p. 14. [u] Pontifical. Vit. Sixti.
[x] Chryſ. Hom. 65. de Martyribus. T. 5. p. 972.

Martyrs, who lie buried in the Country, is celebrated, it was fit the whole City ſhould remove thither. In like manner, ſpeaking of the Feſtival of *Droſis* [*y*] the Martyr, he ſays, Though they had ſpiritual Entertainment in the City; yet their going out to the Saints in the Country afforded them both great Profit and Pleaſure. From all which it is evident to a Demonſtration, that for the Three firſt Centuries the Chriſtians neither did nor could bury in the Cities or City-Churches, becauſe the *Roman* Laws, with which they readily complied, were abſolutely againſt it. If afterwards at any Time we meet with Martyrs lying in Churches, that is only to be underſtood of the Relicks of Martyrs tranſlated into the City-Churches, or of Churches newly built in the Country over the Graves and Monuments of the Martyrs: Neither of which has any relation at all to Burying in Churches: Becauſe the one was only the Tranſlation of their Aſhes in an Urn ſome Ages after, and the other rather an erecting of new Churches in the Places where the Martyrs lay buried ſome Ages before, than any proper Burial of the Martyrs in Churches. Though this gave the firſt Occaſion in future Times to the Innovation that was made in this Matter of Burying in Churches, as we ſhall ſee more hereafter.

MEAN

[*y*] Chryſ. Hom. 67. in Droſidem. T. 5. p. 989.

Sect. 3.
But either in Monuments erected by the Publick, or in Vaults and Catacumbs in the Fields under-Ground.

MEAN while let it be observed, that the Common Way of Burying, for this Interval of Three Hundred Years, was either in Graves with Monuments set over them in the Publick Roads, or else in Vaults and Catacumbs for greater Safety made in the Fields and under-ground. For that they had such Vaults for this Purpose, called *Cryptæ* and *Arenaria*, from their being digged privately in the Sand underground, is evident both from the Ancient and Modern Accounts of them. *Baronius* [z] tells us there were about Forty-three such in the Suburbs of *Rome:* And *Onuphrius* [a] gives us a particular Account of their Names (taken from the Names of their Founders, or such Charitable Persons as were at the Pains or Charge to build or Repair them:) And what is chiefly remarkable, he tells us the Places where they were, *viz.* not in the City, but in the Ways or Roads without the Walls, leading from *Rome* to other Places, as the *Via Appia*, *Aurelia*, *Ostiensis*, *Nomentana*, *Tiburtina*, *Latina*, *Salaria*, *Flaminia*, *Portuensis*, *Ardeatina*, *Lavicana*, &c. Which are the known Roads leading to the neighbouring Cities about *Rome*. And by this we may understand what St. *Jerom* means, when he says [b], It was his Custom

[z] Baron. an. 226. n. 9. [a] Onuphr. de Cœmiteriis. cap. 12.

[b] Hieron. in Ezek. cap. 40. p. 636. Dum essem Romæ puer --- Solebam Diebus Dominicis Sepulchra Apostolorum &

ſtom, when he was a Boy at School in *Rome*, on *Sundays* to go about and viſit the Sepulchres of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and often to enter into the Vaults, which were digged deep into the Ground, and on each Side as one went in, had along by the Walls the Bodies of ſuch as lay buried: And were ſo dark, that to enter in them was, in the *Pſalmiſt*'s Language, *almoſt like going down alive into Hell:* The Light from above peeped in but here and there, a little to take off the Horror of Darkneſs, not ſo much by Windows as little Holes and Cranies, which ſtill left a dark Night within, and terrified the Minds of ſuch as had the Curioſity to viſit them, with Silence and Horror. This is to be underſtood, not of any Places within the City, but of thoſe Vaults which lay by the ſeveral Ways round about *Rome*. And the Deſcription agrees very well with the Account which *Baronius* [c] gives of one of them, called the Cemitery of *Priſcilla*, diſcovered in his Time, *An.* 1578. in the *Via Salaria* about Three Miles from *Rome*. He ſays, at the Entrance of it there was one Principal Way, which on either Side opened into divers other Ways, and thoſe again divided into other leſſer Ways, like Lanes in a City: There were alſo ſome void open Places fitted for their holding of Religious Aſſemblies, which had in them the Effigies and Repreſentations of Martyrs. And likewiſe there were Holes at the Top of it to let in Light, but theſe

& Martyrum circuire, crebroque Cryptas ingredi, quæ in terrarum profunda defoſſæ, ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietes habent corpora ſepultorum. &c.

[c] Baron. an. 130, n. 2.

theſe were long ago ſtopp'd up. Theſe Catacumbs of *Rome* have made the greateſt Noiſe in the World, but there were ſuch belonging to many other Cities. Biſhop *Burnet* [*d*] deſcribes thoſe of *Naples*, which he ſays are without the City, and much more noble and ſpacious than thoſe of *Rome*. He ſuppoſes them to be made by the Heathens, and not by the Chriſtians: Which is not a Diſpute Material in our preſent Enquiry: Becauſe whether they were made by the one or the other (probably ſome were made [*] by each) they were ſtill without the Walls of the Cities; which is enough to our preſent Purpoſe. And to this agrees the Teſtimony of that Ancient Writer under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſays in general, That every City, nay, every Village [*e*] had their Graves or Burying-Places before the Entrances into them, that they who went in, might firſt conſider what they themſelves were, before they ſet a Foot into the Cities flouriſhing with Riches, Dignity and Power. There are Graves before Cities, and Graves before Fields: Every where the School of Humility lies before our Eyes. Now I think, upon the whole, we can hardly have better Proof of any thing than we have of this, whether we conſider Law or Fact, That for the firſt Three Hundred

[*d*] Burnet's *Travels*. Letter 4. p. 201.

[*] *Chriſtian Catacumbs are mentioned in a very antient Book called,* Depoſitio Martyrum, *cited by Bp.* Pearſon, Annal. Cyprian. an. 258. p. 62.

[*e*] Chryſ. Hom. 17. de Fide & Lege Naturæ. T. 6. p. 184. πᾶσα πόλις, πᾶσα κώμη πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδων τάφους ἔχει, &c. Vid. Tertul, de Teſtimon. Animæ. cap. 4.

Hundred Years under the Heathen Emperors the General Rule and Cuſtom was to bury without the Walls of the Cities, and conſequently neither in Cities nor City-Churches, unleſs by ſome Connivence or Tranſgreſſion.

Hegeſippus indeed and *Euſebius* (Lib. 2. cap. 23.) and St. *Jerom* after them, ſay, that St. *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was buried in the City near the Temple, where he was ſlain: But St. *Jerom* owns there were ſome who thought he was buried upon Mount *Olivet*: Which is much more probable: Becauſe it is certain from the Goſpel, that it was the Cuſtom of the *Jews* to bury without the City, *Matth.* xxvii. 60. *Luke* vii. 12. *John* xi. 30. And *Euſebius* ſpeaking of the *Mauſoleum* or Monument of *Helena* Queen of *Adiabene*, ſays expreſsly it was ἐν περατείοις, in the Suburbs of *Jeruſalem*, Euſeb. Lib. 2. cap. 12. So that for any thing that appears to the contrary, it may be concluded to have been the general Cuſtom both of *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Romans*, to bury all their Dead without the Cities for the firſt Three Hundred Years.

Sect. 4. *Burying in Cities and Churches prohibited by Chriſtian Emperors for ſeveral Ages after.*

LET us next examine how this Matter ſtood in the next Period of Time, when the Emperors and Laws were both become Chriſtian. Now here we find that the Laws ſtood for many Ages juſt as they were before, forbidding all Burying in Cities; and ſome new Laws were made, particularly prohibiting and reſtraining Men from Burying in Churches. For when ſome Perſons in *Conſtantinople* began to make an Invaſion upon the Laws, under Pretence that there

there was no expreſs Prohibition of Burying in Churches made in them; *Theodoſius* by a new Law [*f*] equally forbad both Burying in Cities and Burying in Churches; and this whether it was only the Aſhes or Relicks of any Bodies kept above-Ground in Urns, or whole Bodies laid in Coffins: They were all to be carried and repoſited without the City, for the ſame Reaſons that the old Laws had aſſigned; *viz.* That they might be Examples and Memorials of Mortality and the Condition of Human Nature to all Paſſengers; and alſo that they might not defile the Habitation of the Living, but leave it pure and clean to them. And if any preſumed to tranſgreſs henceforward the Inhibition of this Law, he was to forfeit the Third Part of his Patrimony: And whatever Officer was aſſiſting in ſuch a Funeral, was to be amerced in a Fine of Forty Pound of Gold. And that no little Quirk or Subtilty ſhould elude the Intention of this Law, and leave Men at Liberty to think, that this general Prohibition of Burying in the City did not exclude Men from burying in

[*f*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Sepulchris violatis. Leg. 6. Omnia, quæ ſupra terram Urnis clauſa, vel Sarcofagis corpora detinentur, extra Urbem delata ponantur, ut & Humanitatis Inſtar exhibeant, & relinquant incolarum domicilio ſanctitatem. Quiſquis autem hujus Præcepti negligens fuerit, adque aliquid tale ab hujus interminatione Præcepti auſus fuerit moliri, tertia in futurum Patrimonij parte multetur: Officium quoque quod ſibi paret, Quinquaginta Librarum auri affectum diſpoliatione merebitur. Ac ne alicujus fallax & arguta ſollertia ab hujus ſe præcepti intentione ſubducat, atque Apoſtolorum vel Martyrum ſedem humandis corporibus æſtimet eſſe conceſſam, ab his quoque, ita ut a Reliquo Civitatis, noverint ſe atque intelligant eſſe ſubmotos.

in the Places where the Aſhes of the Apoſtles and Martyrs were repoſited, it was expreſly provided, that they ſhould be ſecluded from theſe Repoſitories, as well as any other Places within the City. St. *Chryſoſtom* takes Notice of this Law, arguing thus with Sinners, whom he reckons no better than mere Graves and Sepulchres, when dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins: Conſider, ſays he [*g*], That no Grave is allowed to be made in the City: Therefore neither canſt thou appear in the City that is above. For if this be forbidden in an Earthly City, how much more in that which is Heavenly? In like manner in another place [*h*]: If we bury dead Bodies without the City, much more ought we to expell thoſe, who ſpeak dead Words, offenſive to others, and utter things they ought to conceal: For ſuch Mouths are the common Peſt and Plague of the City. The Author under the Name of St. *Chryſoſtom* [*i*], probably *Severianus* of *Gabala*, one of his Co-temporaries, had his Eye upon this Law and thoſe that went before, when he ſaid, Every City and Village had their Burying-places before their Entrance into them. This is not only an Evidence of what went before, but alſo of the Practice of his own Times, purſuant to the Law, about the Year 400. *Sidonius Apollinaris* a *French* Biſhop lived almoſt a whole Century after this, and he plainly intimates, that

[*g*] Chryſ. Hom. 37. al. 74. in Mat. p. 634. ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐδεὶς τάφος ἐν πόλει κατασκευάζεται. &c.

[*h*] Id. Expoſ. Pſalm. 6. T. 3. p. 50. εἰ τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καταθάπτομεν. &c.

[*i*] Id. Hom. 17. de Fide. T. 6. p. 184. Vid. Macarium, Hom. 30.

that it was ſtill the Cuſtom in *France* to bury without the Walls of the City in the open Field. For ſpeaking of the Grave of his Grandfather, he ſays, It was a Field where he lay buried [*k*], filled with Funeral Aſhes and the Bodies of the Dead, in the Road and Suburbs of the City *Arverne*. And after this the Council of *Braga*, *An.* 563, ſpeaks of it again [*l*] as a Privilege even then firmly retained in the Cities of *France*, That no Corps whatſoever was buried within the Walls of any of their Cities: And they make Uſe of this as an Argument, why no one ſhould be buried in any Church in *Spain*. Of which more by and by. In the mean while if we look into *Africk*, in the Time of St. *Auſtin An.* 401, we find by an Order made in the Fifth Council of *Carthage* againſt the *Donatiſts*, that it was then the Cuſtom to bury ſtill in the Fields and High-ways. For the *Donatiſts* ſo buried the *Circumcellions* their pretended Martyrs, erecting them Tombs in the Faſhion of Altars to be their Memorials. Upon which Account that Council ordered [*m*], That ſuch Altars that were ſo erected by the Roads or in

[*k*] Sidon. Lib. 3. Ep. 12. Campus ipſe dudum refertus tam Buſtualibus favillis, quam Cadaveribus, nullam jamdiu Scrobem recipiebat. &c.

[*l*] Conc. Bracarens. 1. can. 36. Firmiſſimum hoc Privilegium uſque nunc retinent Galliæ Civitates, ut nullo modo intra ambitum murorum Civitatum cujuſlibet defuncti corpus ſit humatum. &c.

[*m*] Conc. Carth. 5. can. 14. Placuit, ut altaria, quæ paſſim per Agros aut Vias, tanquam Memoriæ Martyrum conſtituuntur, in quibus nullum Corpus aut Reliquiæ Martyrum conditæ probantur, ab Epiſcopis qui eiſdem locis præſunt, ſi fieri poteſt, evertantur.

in the Fields, as Monuments of Martyrs, in which it could not be proved that the Bodies or Relicts of true Martyrs were repoſed, ſhould be demoliſhed, if it were poſſible, by the Biſhops of the reſpective Sees, in whoſe Dioceſes they were found. Which was not ſo ordered, becauſe they were buried in the Fields or Highways; (for that was agreeable to the Law made by *Theodoſius* not long before;) but becauſe it was doubtful whether they were true Martyrs or not. For neither the *Catholicks* nor *Donatiſts* did then generally pretend to bury either in Cities or in Churches; but only ſome few of the *Circumcellions*, who were the fiercer and hotter Part of them, in ſpite of all Laws buried ſome of their pretended Martyrs in the Churches: But even theſe, as *Optatus* [*n*] tells us, were taken up again and caſt out, becauſe it was not lawful to bury any Corps in the Houſe of GOD. This is the firſt Inſtance of any, that I remember, being buried in Churches; and then it was contradicted by the Biſhop of the Place, by whoſe Order they were caſt out. No Alteration as yet was made in the Law againſt Burying in Churches. For *Juſtinian*, who cut off the former Part of *Theodoſius*'s Law againſt Burying in Cities, retained ſtill the later Part

[*o*] againſt

[*n*] Optat. Lib. 3. p. 68. In loco Octavenſi occiſi ſunt plurimi, detruncati ſunt multi; quorum Corpora uſque in hodiernum per dealbatas Aras & Menſas poterunt numerari. Ex quorum numero cum aliqui in Baſilicis ſepelire cœpiſſent, Clarius Presbyter in loco ſubbulenſi ab Epiſcopo ſuo coactus eſt ut inſepultam faceret ſepulturam. Unde prodi-tum eſt mandatum fuiſſe fieri quod factum eſt, quando nec ſepultura in Domo Dei exhiberi conceſſa eſt.

[o] againſt Burying in Churches, inſerting it into his *Code*: Let no one think that the Places of the Apoſtles and Martyrs are allowed to bury human Bodies in. And long after this the Prohibition continued to the Time of *Charles the Great*, though with ſome Exceptions in Favour of ſome eminent Perſons, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel of the Story, examining by what Steps and Degrees the contrary Cuſtom came into the Church.

Sect. 5.

The firſt Step made toward Burying in Churches was the Building of Churches over the Graves of the Martyrs in the Country, or elſe tranſlating their Relicks into the City-Churches.

THE firſt Thing that gave Occaſion to any to think of Burying in Churches, was the particular Honour that was done to Martyrs in the Fourth Century, when the Graves or Monuments where they lay buried, and where the Chriſtians had uſed to aſſemble in Times of Perſecution formerly for the Worſhip of GOD, had now Churches erected over them in the Country: Or elſe their Aſhes and Remains were tranſlated into the City, and depoſited in Churches; and many Times new Churches were erected in the Places where they were laid, thence called *Martyria*, *Propheteia*, *Apoſtolæa*, from the Martyrs, Prophets, or Apoſtles, whoſe Remains were tranſlated into them. This was ſo much the known Practice of the Fourth Century, that I need not ſtand to give any particular

[o] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 1. Tit. 2, de Eccleſiis. Leg. 2. Nemo Apoſtolorum vel Martyrum ſedem humanis (leg. humandis) corporibus exiſtimet eſſe conceſſam-

Inſtances of it, but only remark in general, That it had ſo much the Approbation of the Church in that Age, as that no ſuch kind of *Martyria* or Churches were to be builded, unleſs the Remains of ſome approved Martyrs were repoſited in them. Which appears from a Canon of the Fifth Council of *Carthage* [*p*] forbidding any Memorials of Martyrs to be accepted as ſuch, unleſs either the Body or the Relicks of a Martyr were certainly known to be depoſited there. But then this was nothing to Burying in Churches, but only an Honour paid to the Aſhes of the Martyrs, who had been dead and buried, it may be, ſome Hundreds of Years before; and cannot ſo properly be called a Burying in Churches, as a Building of Churches, and new erecting them in the ancient Burying-places of the Dead. But whatever it was, it was a peculiar Privilege of the Martyrs to have their Remains thus repoſited in the Body of the Church: The Laws forbad it ſtill to all others, and the greateſt Perſons had not this Honour and Favour allowed them, to be interred in the ſame Place where the Remains of the Martyrs were repoſed.

BUT

[*p*] Conc. Garth. 5. can. 14. Omnino nulla Memoria Martyrum probabiliter acceptetur, niſi aut ibi Corpus, aut aliquæ certe Reliquiæ ſint, &c.

Note. *Theſe Relicks were buried under the Altar, not kept above-Ground upon the Altar: For* Mabillon *ſays, No Relicks were ſet upon the Altar to the Tenth Century.* Mabil. de Liturg. Gallicana. Lib. 1. cap. 9. n. 4.

BUT Kings and Emperors had in this Age a peculiar Privilege above the reſt of Men, to be buried in the *Atrium*, or Church-porch, or ſome other of the outer Buildings of the Church. *Euſebius* ſays [q], *Conſtantine* had deſired to be buried near the Apoſtles, whoſe Memorial he had honoured by building a Church called by their Names. But this was not underſtood to be a Deſire to be buried in the Church itſelf, but only in the Porch before the Church. And ſo far *Conſtantius* his Son fulfilled his Will, as *Chryſoſtom* more than once informs us. His Son [r] ſays he, thought he did his Father *Conſtantine* a very great Honour, to bury him in the Fiſherman's Porch. And what Porters are to the Emperors in their own Palaces, the ſame are the Emperors to the Fiſhermen in their Graves. The Apoſtles, as Maſters of the Place, have their Reſidence within; but the Emperors Ambition proceeds no farther, than as Neighbours and Attendants, to take Poſſeſſion of the Porch before the Church. Again, in another Place, ſpeaking of the ſame Matter [s], At *Conſtantinople* they that wear the Diadem take it for a Favour to be buried, not cloſe by the Apoſtles, but in the Porch without the Church, and Kings are the Fiſhermens Door-keepers. Thus

Sect. 6. *The next was allowing Kings and Emperors to be buried in the* Atrium, *or Porch and outer Buildings of the Church.*

[q] Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. Lib. 4. cap. 71.
[r] Chryſ. Hom. 26. in 2 Cor. p. 929.
[s] Id. Lib. Quod Chriſtus ſit Deus. cap. 8. T. 5. p. 839.

alſo *Theodoſius* Senior, and *Arcadius*, and *Theodoſius* Junior, are ſaid by ſome Hiſtorians [*t*], to be buried. Which is probable enough, though the ancient Hiſtorians *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret* ſay nothing of it. Hitherto then for Five hundred Years, we ſee, the Generality of Chriſtians were ſtill buried without the City, and only Kings and Emperors allowed to be buried within the City; and yet this not in the Church, but only in the *Atrium*, or Church-yard, or in the Porch, or other outer Buildings of the Church.

Sect. 7. *Then the People in the Sixth Century began to be admitted into the Church-yards, but not into the Church.*

IN the Beginning of the Sixth Century the People alſo ſeem to have been admitted to the ſame Privilege of being buried in the *Atrium*, or Church-yard before the Church: But ſtill they were forbidden by Laws both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil to bury in the Church. For *Juſtinian* in his new *Code*, dropping the former Part of *Theodoſius*'s Law, which obliged all People to bury without the City, ſtill retains the latter Clauſe [*u*] which forbids Men to be buried in the Seats of the Martyrs and Apoſtles. And about the Year 563, the firſt Council of *Braga* in *Spain* allows [*x*] Men to be buried, if Need require,

[*t*] Niceph. Lib. 14. cap. 58.

[*u*] Cod. Juſt. Lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Eccleſiis. Leg. 2. Nemo Apoſtolorum vel Martyrum ſedem humandis corporibus exiſtimet eſſe conceſſam.

[*x*] Conc. Bracar. 1. Can. 36. Corpora defunctorum nullo modo intra Baſilicam ſanctorum ſepeliantur, ſed, ſi neceſſe

require, in the Church-yard under the Walls of the Church, but utterly forbids any to be buried within: Giving this Reaſon for it, That the Cities of *France* ſtill retained the ancient Privilege firm, to ſuffer no dead Body to be buried within the Walls of the City; and therefore it was much more reaſonable that this Reſpect ſhould be paid to the venerable Martyrs. We may conclude hence, as we have done before, That at this Time in *France* they were ſo far from allowing Burials in the Church, that as yet they did not ſuffer any Corps to be buried in the Church-yard, no, nor any-where within the Walls of the City. But ſome Time after, about the Year 658, or 895, when the Council of *Nantes* was held, (Chronologers are not exactly agreed about the Time) the People of *France* were alſo permitted to bury in the Church-yard [*y*], or in the Porch, or in the *Exhedræ* or outer Buildings of the Church, but not within the Church itſelf, and near the Altar where the Body and Blood of CHRIST is conſecrated. This Rule is again repeated in the Council of *Arles* [*z*] and

neceſſe eſt, deforis circa murum Baſilicæ uſque adeo non abhorret. Nam ſi firmiſſimum hoc Privilegium uſque nunc retinent Civitates Galliæ, ut nullo modo intra ambitum murorum cujuſlibet defuncti corpus ſit humatum, quanto magis hoc venerabilium Martyrum debet reverentia obtinere?

[*y*] Conc. Namnetenſ. can. 6. Prohibendum eſt etiam ſecundum Majorum inſtituta, ut in Eccleſia nullatenus ſepeliantur, ſed in Atrio aut in Porticu, aut in Exhedris Eccleſiæ. Intra Eccleſiam vero & prope altare, ubi Corpus & ſanguis Domini conficitur, nullatenus ſepeliantur.

[*z*] Conc. Arelat. 3. can. 21. De Sepeliendis mortuis in Baſilicis illa Conſtitutio ſervetur, quæ ab antiquis Patribus conſtituta eſt.

the Council of *Mentz* [*a*] held *An.* 813, in the Time of *Charles the Great*, out of which that Emperor made a Rule in his *Capitulars* [*b*] to the ſame Purpoſe. Not to inſiſt upon the uncertain Canon of the *Concilium Varenſe*, as it is called in *Gratian* [*c*], which is a Repetition of the Canon of *Nantes*: We may add to theſe the Rule made in the Council of *Tribur* [*d*], another Synod in the Time of *Charles the Great*: Let no Layman for the future be buried in the Church: Yet ſuch Bodies as are already buried there, may not be caſt out, but the Pavement ſhall be ſo made over the Graves, that no Footſtep of a Grave ſhall appear. And if this cannot without great Difficulty be done for the Multitude of Corps lately buried there, let the Place be turned into a *Polyandrium* or Cemitery, and let the Altar be removed thence, and ſet in ſome other Place, where the Sacrifice may be religiouſly offered to GOD. While theſe Laws were thus made in the *Weſt*, giving Men Liberty to bury in Cities and Church-yards, but ſtill reſtraining them in a great Meaſure from Burying in Churches; *Leo Sapiens* in the *Eaſt* about the Year 900, abrogated all the old Laws againſt burying in Cities, and left Men at perfect Liberty to bury within the Walls or without

[*a*] Conc. Moguntiac. can. 52. Nullus mortuus infra Eccleſiam ſepeliatur, &c.

[*b*] Carol. Captitular. Lib. 1. cap. 159. ap. Lindebrog. Leg. Antiq, Nullus deinceps in Eccleſia mortuum ſepeliat.

[*c*] Gratian. Cauſ. 13. Quæſt. 2. cap. 15.

[*d*] Conc. Tribur. can. 17. Præcipimus ut deinceps nullus Laicus in Eccleſia ſepeliatur, &c. Corpora antiquitus in Eccleſia ſepulta nequaquam projiciantur, &c.

out the Walls of any City [e]: But ſtill ſays nothing of any Licence to bury in Churches. So that it is evident beyond all Contradiction, that hitherto there was no general Licence granted by any Laws in any Part of the World authorizing all Sorts of Perſons to bury in Churches without Diſtinction, but many of the Laws in this Interval run peremptorily and univerſally againſt it.

Sect. 8. *And in this Period of Time, Kings, Biſhops, Founders of Churches and other Eminent Perſons were by ſome Laws allowed to be buried in Churches.*

YET ſome Laws within this Period of Time were made with ſome Limitations and Exceptions in the Caſe of great and eminent Perſons, ſuch as Kings, and Biſhops, and Founders of Churches, and Presbyters, and ſuch of the Laity as were ſingularly conſpicuous and honourable for their exemplary Sanctity and Vertue. The Council of *Mentz*, mentioned before, qualifies the general Prohibition with this Exception; ſaying, None ſhall be buried in the Church, except Biſhops, and Abbots, and worthy Presbyters [f] and faithful Laymen. And

[e] Leo. Novel. 53. Ne igitur ullo modo inter Civiles Leges hæc Lex recenſeatur, ſancimus: quin potius, ut a Conſuetudine recte contemnitur, ſic etiam Decreto noſtro prorſus reprobator. Quicunque autem ſive extra muros, ſive intra Civitatem ſepelire mortuos volet, perficiendæ voluntatis facultatem habeto.

[f] Conc. Moguntiac. can. 52. Nullus mortuus intra Eccleſiam ſepeliatur, niſi Epiſcopi, aut Abbates, aut digni Presbyteri, aut fideles Laici.

the Council of *Tribur* [*g*], only forbidding Laymen to be buried in the Church, may be ſuppoſed to allow it to the Clergy. And this Honour was paid to Biſhops and Emperors ſome time before. For *Socrates* [*h*] ſays, *Proclus* removed the Body of St. *Chryſoſtom* from *Comanæ* to *Conſtantinople*, and laid it in the Church of the Apoſtles. And *Evagrius* ſpeaks [*i*] of it as Cuſtomary to bury the Emperors and Clergy in the Church of the Apoſtles built by *Juſtinian* at *Conſtantinople*. This Honour likewiſe was paid to Founders of Churches: They were allowed to be interred in their own Structures. As *Sozomen* [*k*] ſays the Wife of one *Cæſarius* was buried in the Church near the *Ambon* or Reading-Desk, becauſe her Husband had been the Founder of it. And *Valeſius* thinks that *Conſtantine* was therefore buried in the Church of the Apoſtles, becauſe it was built by him. So he had a double Title to this Privilege, both as Emperor and Founder. But we may obſerve a Difference between *Conſtantine*'s Age and this. In *Conſtantine*'s Time an Emperor and a Founder was buried only in the Porch: But in the Time of *Sozomen* any ordinary Founder might be buried in the Middle of the Church.

THUS

[*g*] Conc. Tribur. can. 17. ut ſupra.
[*h*] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 45.
[*i*] Evagr. Lib. 14. cap. 31.
[*k*] Sozom. Lib. 9. cap. 2.

THUS the Thing went on from one Degree to another, taking various Steps and Motions, partly by Permiſſion and Relaxation of the Laws, and partly by Tranſgreſſion of the Laws and Connivence in thoſe who had the Execution of them. And the Matter at laſt was left in a great Meaſure to the Diſcretion of Biſhops and Presbyters to determine who ſhould or ſhould not be buried in Churches, according to the Merit and Deſert of the Perſons who deſired it. In the Ninth Century in *France* ſome Families began to ſet up a Claim to Hereditary Sepulchres in the Church. But this was oppoſed, and the Council of *Meaux*, An. 845. made an Order, That no one ſhould pretend to bury any Corps in the Church upon Hereditary Right [*l*], but the Biſhops and Preſbyters ſhould judge who were worthy of this Favour according to the Quality of their Life and Converſation. And after this we find ſome Laws made in general againſt Burying in Churches. As that of the Council of *Wincheſter* [*m*] under *Lanfranck* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, An. 1076. Let

Sect. 9. *The Matter at laſt left to the Diſcretion of Biſhops and Presbyters, who ſhould or ſhould not be buried in Churches. Hereditary Sepulchres not yet allowed in the Ninth Century, but brought in by the Popes Decretals.*

[*l*] Conc. Meldens. can. 72. Ut nemo quemlibet mortuum in Eccleſia, quaſi Hereditario Jure, niſi quem Epiſcopus & Presbyter pro Qualitate converſationis & vitæ dignum duxerit, ſepelire præſumat.

[*m*] Conc. Winton. an. 1076. can. 9. Conc. Tom. 10. p. 352. In Eccleſiis corpora defunctorum non ſepeliantur.

Let no Bodies of the Dead be buried in Churches. But ſo many Exceptions had been made to the old Laws, that it was no hard Matter for any one who had Ambition, or Superſtition enough to think that he ſhould be much benefited in his Death by being buried in the Church, to obtain this Privilege. And theſe two Reaſons opened the Way to greater Liberties by far than the ancient Canons had allowed. For an Opinion that it was of great Service to Mens Souls to be buried in the Church made Men more eager than ever to obtain this Privilege at their Death. And Pope *Leo* III. had made a Decree, which *Gregory* IX. inſerted into his Decretals [*n*], giving a Sort of Hereditary Right to all Perſons to to buried in the Sepulchres of their Anceſtors, according to the Example, as it is ſaid, of the ancient Patriarchs. This was about the Year 1230. Not long after which *Boniface* VIII. [*o*] ſpeaks of it as a Cuſtomary Thing for Men to be buried in the Church in the Sepulchres of their Anceſtors. So that from theſe Decretals, I think, may be dated the Ruin of the old Laws. For they took away that little Power that was left in the Hands of Biſhops to let People bury in the Church, or not bury, as they ſhould judge proper in their Diſcretion, and put the Right and Poſſeſſion of Burying-Places

[*n*] Gregor. Decretal. Lib. 3. Tit. 28. de Sepulturis. cap. 1. Statuimus unumquemque in Majorum ſuorum Sepulchris jacere, ut Patriarcharum exitus docet.

[*o*] Sext. Decretal. Lib. 3. Tit. 12. de Sepulturis. cap. 2. Cum quis cujus Majores ſunt ſoliti in aliqua Eccleſia ſepeliri ab antiquo, &c.

Places in the Church into the Hands of Private Families. And others, who had no ſuch Right, being led by their Ambition or Superſtition, could then eaſily purchaſe a Right to be buried in the Church, which was a Thing that Emperors themſelves did not pretend to ask in former Ages. I have been the more curious in deducing the Hiſtory of this Matter from firſt to laſt, becauſe the Innovation has been thought a Grievance to ſome very Learned and Judicious Men, and what they could have wiſhed to have ſeen rectified at or ſince the Reformation. This Cuſtom, ſays the Learned *Rivet* [*p*], which Covetouſneſs and Superſtition firſt brought in, I wiſh it were aboliſhed with other Relicks of Superſtition among us; and that the ancient Cuſtom was revived, to have Publick Burying-places in the free and open Fields without the Gates of Cities. This would be more convenient for Civil Uſes alſo: Becauſe in cloſe Places the Air cannot but be affected with the nauſeous Smell of dead Bodies: There is no Good done by it to the Dead, and the Living are in manifeſt Danger by it, eſpecially in the Time of contagious Diſtempers, when infected Bodies are promiſcuouſly buried in Churches, wherein Men daily meet and aſſemble together. A Thing, ſays he, which not without Reaſon has ever appeared horrible

[*p*] Rivet. in Gen. 47. Exercit. 171. p. 842. Hunc morem, quem invexit Avaritia & Superſtitio, valde vellem apud nos cum aliis Superſtitionis reliquiis eſſe abolitum, &c. Grotius in Luc. 7. 12. *makes a like Complaint.* Quod in memoriam Martyrum olim inductum, neſcio an ſatis ſapienter retineatur.

horrible to me and many others. The like Complaint is made by ſome among the *Romaniſts*, particularly by *Durantus* [q], who was an eminent Lawyer and Preſident of the Parliament of *Tholouſe*. He commends the Piety of the Ancients for not allowing the Dead to be buried in the Church, and *Charles the Great* for reviving and reſtoring the Primitive Inſtitution, when it had been in ſome Meaſure neglected: And withall, ſpeaks it with great Regret, That whereas heretofore Emperors were buried only in the Church-Porch, now the Cuſtom is to let the meaneſt of the People commonly be buried in the Church itſelf, againſt the Laws and Inſtitutions of the ancient Chriſtians. To which, after this Digreſſion I muſt now return again.

CHAP. II.

Some other Obſervations concerning the Place, and Manner, and Time of Burying.

Sect. 1. *Conſecration of Cemiteries not very ancient.*

HAVING thus far conſidered in general the Place of Burying, I now proceed to ſome more particular Obſervations concerning the Place, and Manner, and Time of Burying among Chriſtians. And here the firſt Queſtion may be, Whether they uſed any formal Conſecration

[q] Durant. de Ritibus Eccleſ. Lib. 1. cap. 23.

cration of their Cemiteries as they did of their Churches? Now concerning this, in the firſt Ages there is a perfect Silence. No Writer before *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived about the Year 570, makes any mention of it. But he ſays [*a*], The Burying-places in his Time were uſed to be conſecrated by Sacerdotal Benediction. *Durantus* [*b*] can trace the Cuſtom no higher, and therefore we may conclude, that about this Time, and not before, it became the Practice of the Church. For the Sacredneſs of Sepulchres, that we ſo often read of before this, was from another Reaſon, and not from their formal Conſecration.

Sect. 2. *The Sacredneſs of them ariſing from another Reaſon, and not from their formal Conſecration.*

FOR the Heathens themſelves were uſed to reckon theſe Places ſacred, and the Violation of them a Sort of Sacrilege and Violation of Religion. As appears from the Edicts of Two Heathen Emperors, *Gordian* and *Julian*, which are ſtill retained among the Chriſtian Laws. *Gordian* [*c*] calls them Things deſtined for Religion, and Things made a Part of Religion: And therefore orders, That all Robbers of Graves ſhould be proſecuted as Criminals guilty of an Injury done to Religion

[*a*] Greg. Turon. de Gloria Confeſſor. cap. 106.

[*b*] Durant. de Ritibus. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 9.

[*c*] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 9. Tit. 19. de Sepulchro Violato. Leg. 1. Res religioni deſtinatas, quinimo jam Religionis effectas, ſcientes qui contigerint, & emere & diſtrahere non dubitaverint, læſæ Religionis inciderunt in Crimen.

Religion. In like manner *Julian* [*d*] ſays, The Graves of the Dead are conſecrated Hills; and to move a Stone hence, or diſturb the Ground, or break a Turf, has always been accounted next to Sacrilege by our Forefathers: To ſteal away the Ornaments from the Tables or Portico's of Graves, is a Piacular Crime and Violation of Religion, to be puniſhed as doing Injury to the Dead. *Juſtinian* in repeating this Law of *Julian* in his *Code* [*e*], inſtead of *Pœna Manium*, reads it *Pœna Sacrilegii cohibentes*, inflicting both the Name and Puniſhment of Sacrilege expreſsly upon this Crime. And ſo the ancient Poet does in that *Diſtich*:

Res ea ſacra, miſer, noli mea tangere Fata:
Sacrilegæ Buſtis abſtinuere manus.

Touch not my Monument, thou Wretch: It is a ſacred Thing: Even ſacrilegious Hands commonly abſtain from offering Violence to the Habitations of the Dead. All which ſhews, that Graves and Burying-places were reckoned ſacred Things both by Heathens and Chriſtians without any formal Conſecration: And the *Romans* accounted it a Piece of Impiety in any Caſe

[*d*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Sepulchris violatis. Leg. 5. Pergit audacia ad Buſta diem functorum & Aggeres Conſecratos: Cum & lapidem hinc movere, terram ſollicitare, & ceſpitem vellere, proximum ſacrilegio Majores ſemper habuerint: ſed ornamenta quidam Tricliniis aut Porticibus auferunt de ſepulchris. Quibus primis conſulentes, ne in Piaculum incidant, contaminatâ Religione buſtorum, hoc fieri prohibemus, pœna Manium vindice cohibentes.

[*e*] Cod. Juſt. ubi ſupra. Leg. 5.

Caſe to diſturb or violate the Aſhes of the Dead, except it were thoſe of their publick Enemies, whoſe Graves were not reckoned ſacred, as *Paulus* [*f*] the great Lawyer determin'd: And therefore it was lawful for any one to take the Stones of ſuch Graves and turn them to any other Uſe, and no Action of Violating Sepulchres could be brought againſt them.

Sect. 3. *The Way of adorning Graves, different among Heathens and Chriſtians.*

BUT in all other Caſes, the Graves of the Dead were Places of great Sacredneſs; and conſequently Places of great Security: Inſomuch, that they were reckoned ſafe Repoſitories not only for the Dead, to ſecure them from Violence, but alſo for any Ornaments that were ſet about them, or Riches that together with the Dead were often buried with them. For the *Romans* often adorned their Monuments with rich Pillars of Marble and fine Statues and Images ſet about them. As appears from ſeveral Laws in the *Theodoſian Code* [*g*], which are made to reſtrain the Pillagers of them: And alſo from great Variety of *Roman* Writers, which *Gothofred* [*h*] mentions and alledges in his *Comment* upon one of thoſe Laws, as *Pliny*, *Cicero*, *Aggenus*, *Propertius*,

[*f*] Digeſt. Lib. 47. Tit. 12. de Sepulchro Violato. Leg. 4. Sepulchra hoſtium nobis Religioſa non ſunt; ideoque lapides inde Sublatos in quemlibet uſum convertere poſſumus: Non Sepulchri Violati actio competit.

[*g*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Sepulcris violatis. Leg. 2, & 4.

[*h*] Gothofred. in Leg. 2. ibid.

Propertius, *Servius*, and *Eutropius*, who gives a particular Account of *Trajan*'s Pillar, which was One hundred and forty Foot high. The Two *Antonines* indeed laid ſome Reſtraint upon the exceſſive Vanity and Profuſeneſs of the *Romans* in this Matter, making ſevere Laws againſt Extravagance in Burying, and Building of Sepulchres, as *Julius Capitolinus* [*i*] informs us: But this did not hinder Men from adorning their Monuments with Marble Statues and Pillars, and ſuch like common Ornaments, as we afterwards find allowed in one of the Laws of *Gordian* in the *Juſtinian* [*k*] *Code*. So that theſe Monuments of the Heathen were often very pompous and magnificent both in Building and Ornament, which frequently made them become a Prey and Spoil to rapacious Invaders. But we can hardly ſuppoſe this of any Chriſtian Sepulchres for the firſt Three hundred Years. *Caius* an ancient Writer and Presbyter of the Church of *Rome* about the Year 210, ſpeaks of the Trophies and Monuments [*l*] of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, which were then to be ſeen, the one in the *Vatican* in the *Via Triumphalis*, and the other in the *Via Oſtienſis*: But theſe Trophies were not ſo magnificent, whatſoever they were, but

[*i*] Capitolin. Vit. Marci Antonini. p. 78. Tunc Antonini Leges ſepeliendi, ſepulchrorumque aſperrimas ſanxerunt: Quandoquidem caverunt, Ne uti quis vellet fabricaret Sepulchrum: Quod hodieque ſervatur.

[*k*] Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 3. Tit. 44. de Religioſis & ſumptibus funerum. Leg. 7. Statuas Sepulchro ſuperimponere, vel Monumento ornamenta ſuperaddere non prohiberis: Cum jure ſuo eorum quæ minus prohibita ſunt, unicuique facultas libera non denegetur.

[*l*] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 2. cap. 25.

but that afterwards about the Year 258, they were tranſlated by Pope *Xyſtus* [*m*] into the *Catacumbs* for Fear of ſome Indignity that might be offered to them in the Heat of Perſecution. The moſt that we can ſuppoſe is, That they were Grave-ſtones with an Inſcription, declaring their Names and Character, and the Time and Manner of their Death. And ſome of them, we are ſure, were not ſo much as this. For ſometimes great Multitudes of Martyrs were buried in one common Grave, and then the Inſcription contained only the Number, and not the Names, or any particular Account of them. *Prudentius* [*n*] ſays, He had obſerved one ſuch Grave wherein Sixty Martyrs were buried together. St. *James*'s Monument at *Jeruſalem* was no more than a Pillar [*o*] or Grave-ſtone with an Inſcription. And in after-Ages the Chriſtians were not very fond of erecting ſtately Monuments before they came to bury in Churches. For they had obſerved what Spoil and Ravagement had been made of the Heathen Monuments, and how many Laws the Emperors were forced to make againſt the Violation of Sepulchres: Which made many pious Chriſtians think how much better and ſafer it was to build themſelves Monuments in their Life-time by Liberality to the Poor, than to build ſtately and coſtly Monuments for Thieves and

[*m*] Depoſitio Martyrum. ap. Pearſon. Annal. Cyprian. p. 62. Tertio Kalendas Julii, Petri in Catacumbas, & Pauli Oſtienſe, Tuſco & Baſſo Coſs.

[*n*] Prudent. Peri Stephan. Hymn. 4. de Hippolyto. Quorum ſolus habet comperta Vocabula Chriſtus.

[*o*] Euſeb. Lib. 2. cap. 23. *calls it* σήλη. *and St.* Jerom Titulus. de Script. Eccleſ. cap. 2.

and Robbers to plunder at their Pleaſure. Thus St. *Jerom* ſays of *Paula*, That ſhe gave all her Subſtance to the Poor, and wiſhed not to have any Thing at her Death, but that ſhe might be beholden for a Winding-ſheet to the Charity of others. And *Ephrem Syrus* left it upon his Will, That nothing ſhould be expended upon his Funeral; but whatever ſhould be appointed for that, ſhould be given to the Poor, as *Gregory Nyſſen* [*p*] reports in the Life of that great Saint and Luminary of the *Eaſtern* Church. And St. *Baſil* exhorts Rich Men in general [*q*] rather to expend their Superfluities in Works of Piety, than to build themſelves coſtly Sepulchres. For what Need have you of a ſumptuous Monument, or a coſtly Entombing? What Advantage is there in a fruitleſs Expence? Prepare your own Funeral whilſt you live. Works of Charity and Mercy are the Funeral Obſequies you can beſtow upon yourſelf.

Sect. 4.

They differed alſo in the Manner of Burying: The Heathens commonly Burning the Body, and putting the Bones and Aſhes in Urns: But the Chriſtians buried the Body whole in the Earth, abhorring the Heathen Cuſtom.

ANOTHER Difference between Heathens and Chriſtians was in the Manner of Burying. For the Heathen for the moſt part burned the Bodies of the Dead in Funeral Piles, and then gathered up the Bones and Aſhes and put them in an Urn above-Ground: But the Chriſtians abhorred this Way of Burying; and therefore never uſed it, but put the Body whole into the Ground; or if there was Occaſion for any other Way of Burying,

[*p*] Nyſſen. Vit. Ephrem. T. 3. p. 613.
[*q*] Baſil. Hom. in Divites. Tom. 1.

riyng, they embalmed the Body, to lay it in a *Catacumb*, that it might not be offenſive to them in ſuch Places, where they were ſometimes forced to hold their religious Aſſemblies. That the Chriſtians uſed the plain and ſimple Way of Inhumation, and not Burning, is evident from the Objection of the Heathen in *Minucius* [r]: They abhor Funeral Piles, and condemn Burning by Fire, for Fear it ſhould hinder their Reſurrection. To which the Chriſtian anſwers: We do not [s], as ye ſuppoſe, fear any Detriment from Burying (by Fire) but we retain the ancient Cuſtom of Inhumation as more eligible and commodious. The ſame is evident from *Tertullian*, who ſays, Some of the Heathen abſtained from Burning upon a ſuperſtitious [t] Notion, that the Soul hovered over the Body after Death: And therefore they would not burn the Body out of a needleſs Compaſſion to the Soul. But, ſays he, our Reaſon is Piety and Humanity to the Body, not flattering it as the Relicks of the Soul, but abhorring Cruelty in reſpect to the Body itſelf, for as much as no Man deſerves to be deſtroyed by a Penal Death.

[r] Minuc. p. 32. Inde videlicet & execrantur Rogos, & damnant ignium Sepulturas.

[s] Ibid. p. 101. Nec ut creditis, ullum damnum ſepulturæ timemus, ſed veterem & meliorem Conſuetudinem humandi frequentamus.

[t] Tertul. de Anima. cap. 51. Et hoc enim in opinione quorundam eſt: Propterea nec ignibus funerandum aiunt, parcentes ſuperfluò animæ. Alia eſt autem ratio Pietatis iſtius, non reliquiis animæ adulatrix, ſed Crudelitatis etiam corporis nomine averſatrix, quod & ipſum homo non utique mereatur pœnali exitu impendi.

In another Place [*u*] he derides the Heathens for their contradictory Cuſtoms, firſt in Burning the Body with great Barbarity, and then making Feaſts and Sacrifices at their Graves by way of Parentation, as they called it: Which was to make the ſame Fires both oblige them and offend them; to ſhew themſelves cruel under the Pretence of Piety, and inſult them by making Feaſts in Behalf of thoſe whom they had burnt before. The Criticks are not agreed when or by what Means this Cuſtom of Burning was laid aſide by the *Romans*. Some think it was forbidden by the Two *Antonines* in their ſevere Laws about Funerals, mentioned before: But *Gothofred* and others, not without Reaſon, think this a Miſtake: Becauſe not only *Tertullian* derides it as ſtill cuſtomary among the Heathen, but alſo becauſe there is ſome Intimation given in one of *Theodoſius*'s Laws, That there was ſome Remains of it even in his Time: For he ſpeaks of both Cuſtoms, that is, of Burying not only whole Bodies in Coffins under-Ground, but alſo [*x*] of Burying in Urns above-Ground; which ſuppoſes the Body to be burnt before, and the Remains only, the Bones and the Aſhes, to be put in an Urn and kept above-Ground. However, it is certain, that this Cuſtom was quite worn out even among the Heathen within the Space of Forty Years after. For *Macrobius*,

[*u*] Id. de Reſur. cap. 1. Ego magis ridebo vulgus, tunc quoque quum ipſos defunctos atrociſſime exurit, quos poſtmodum guloſiſſime nutrit, iiſdem ignibus & promerens & offendens. O Pietatem de Crudelitate ludentem!

[*x*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de ſepulchris Violatis. Leg. 6. Omnia quæ ſupra terram Urnis clauſa, vel ſarcofagis corpora detinentur, extra Urbem delata ponantur, &c.

crobius, who lived in the Time of the Younger *Theodosius*, about the Year 420, says expressly [*y*], That the Use or Custom of Burning the Bodies of the Dead, was quite left off in that Age, and all that he knew of it was only from ancient Reading. It is most probable, that the Heathen Custom altered by Degrees from the Time of *Commodus* the Emperor: For *Commodus* himself and many of his Friends were buried by Inhumation, and not by Burning, as a Learned Person [*z*] observes out of *Xiphilin*: And from that Time the Custom of Burning might decrease, till at last under the Christian Emperors, though without any Law to forbid it, the contrary Custom entirely prevailed, and this quite dwindled into nothing. But the Christians were always very tenacious of the plain Way of Burying by Inhumation, and never would consent to use any other: Reckoning it a great Piece of Barbarity in their Persecutors, whenever they denied them this decent Interment after Death, as they sometimes did, either by exposing their Bodies to the Fury of Wild Beasts and Birds of Prey, or Burning them in Scorn and Derision of their Doctrine of a future Resurrection. Thus, *Eusebius* [*a*] says out of the Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna*, they treated *Polycarp* at the Instigation of the *Jews*, Burning his Body, according to their own Custom, after which the Christians were content to gather up his Bones and bury them. And so they

[*y*] Macrob. Saturnal. Lib. 7. cap. 7. Licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro seculo nullus sit, &c.

[*z*] Burnet. *Travels*. Let. 4. p. 210.

[*a*] Euseb. Lib. 4. cap. 15.

treated the Martyrs of *Lyons* and *Vienna* in *France*, to the great Grief of the Chriſtians, whom they would not allow to bury them, but for Six Days together kept them above-Ground, and then burned their Bodies, and caſt their Aſhes into the River *Roſne*, in Deſpite to their Belief of a Reſurrection; crying out, Now let us ſee whether they will riſe again, and whether their GOD is able to deliver them out of our Hands: As the ſame *Euſebius* [*b*] relates the Story out of *The Acts and Monuments of their Paſſion*. Thus *Maximus* the Preſident threatned *Tharacus* the Martyr [*c*], That though he raiſed himſelf upon the Confidence that his Body after Death ſhould be embalmed and buried, he would defeat his Hopes by cauſing his Body to be burnt, and ſprinkling his Aſhes before the Wind. And it were eaſy to give other Examples of the like Uſage of them upon ſuch Occaſions, ſome of which are related by the Heathen Hiſtorian [*d*] himſelf, not without ſome Reſentment and Reflexion upon the unnatural Cruelty and Inhumanity of ſuch Proceedings.

Sect. 5. *Embalming of Bodies much uſed by Chriſtians. And why more by them than the Heathens.*

FROM the laſt Inſtance of the Preſidents Threatning the Martyr *Tharacus*, that he ſhould not be embalmed, it were eaſy to infer, that the Cuſtom of Chriſtians was to beſtow the Honour and Charge of Embalming commonly upon their Martyrs at

[*b*] Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 1.
[*c*] Acta Tharaci. ap. Baron. an. 299. n. 21.
[*d*] Ammian. Marcellin. Lib. 22. p. 241. Vid. Socrat. Lib. 3. cap. 1. Euſeb. Lib. 8. cap. 6.

at leaſt, if not upon others. But the Cuſtom ſeems to have been more general: For the Heathen in *Minucius* [e] makes it a Matter of Reproach to Chriſtians univerſally, That they would make uſe of no Odors for their Bodies whilſt they lived, but reſerved all coſtly Oyntments for their Funerals. And *Tertullian* ſeems to intimate [f], That the Preparation of the Body for its Funeral with Odoriferous Spices was the general Practice of Chriſtians. 'Tis true, ſays he, we buy no Frankincenſe: But if *Arabia* complains of this; let the *Sabeans* know, that more of their coſtly Wares is ſpent in burying of Chriſtians, than the Heathens ſpend in their Temples in offering Incenſe to their Gods. One of the chief Ingredients in this Unction of the Body or Embalming was Myrrh: Whence *Prudentius* alluding to the Cuſtom [g] ſays, The *Sabean* Myrrh Anointing the Body, by its Medicinal Vertue preſerves it from Corruption. This was the particular Uſe and Virtue of Myrrh, as *Grotius* [h] obſerves out of *Pliny*. And therefore he tells us farther out of *Herodotus* [i] alſo, that the *Eaſtern* Nations were wont to make Uſe of Myrrh to embalm the Bodies of the Dead. And that the *Jews* uſed an Unction

[e] Minuc. p. 35. Non corpus odoribus honeſtatis: Reſervatis unguenta Funeribus.

[f] Tertul. Apol. cap. 42. Thura plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ queruntur, ſciant Sabæi pluris & carioris ſuas merces Chriſtianis ſepeliendis profligari, quam Diis fumigandis. Vid. de Idololatria. cap. 11. Et Acta Euplij. ap. Baronium. an. 303. n. 149.

[g] Prudent. Cathemerin. Hymn. de Exequiis defunctorum. Aſperſaque myrrha Sabæo Corpus medicamine ſervat.

[h] Grot. in Mat. 2. 11. [i] Herodot. Lib. 2.

ction as a Preparation for Burial, is infallibly certain in general both from the Teſtimony of our SAVIOUR given to the Woman who anointed his Body to the Burial, and alſo from what St. *John* ſays in particular of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, and *Nicodemus*, that they brought a Mixture of Myrrh and Aloes, about an Hundred Pound Weight, and took the Body of JESUS, and wound it in the Linnen-Clothes, with the Spices, *as the Manner of the* Jews *is to bury*, John xix. 39. From hence moſt probably the Chriſtians took their Intimation of paying the ſame Reſpect to the Bodies of the Dead. The Ancients alſo were of Opinion that there was ſomething myſtically denoted in the Preſents made by the Wiſe Men to our SAVIOUR at his Birth, when they preſented him with *Gifts*, *Gold*, *Frankcenſe*, *and Myrrh*: *Gold*, as to a King; *Frankincenſe*, as to GOD; and *Myrrh*, as to a Man that muſt die and be buried. For though they might intend none of theſe Things, yet the HOLY GHOST might direct theſe Preſents to be ſuch as might ſignify all theſe Things without their Knowledge; as he directed *Mary*'s Anointing of CHRIST to his Burial; For ſo our LORD himſelf was pleaſed to interpret and accept it, though perhaps that was not particularly in her Intention. It is certain this was the general Notion of the Ancients concerning the Myrrh preſented to our SAVIOUR: As *Maldonat* [*k*] from *Irenæus*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, *Baſil*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, *Auſtin*, *Jerom*, *Juvencus* and *Sedulius*. And the Opinion ſeems to have taken its Original from the Practice of the

[*k*] Maldon. in Mat. 2. 11.

the *Eaſtern* Countries in uſing Myrrh in the Preparation of dead Bodies for their Burial. And this concurring exactly with the *Jewiſh* Cuſtom and our SAVIOUR's Manner of Burial, might probably the more incline the Ancients to be curious in uſing the ſame Preparation of dead Bodies for their Funeral. But they had alſo a farther Reaſon for it: For they were often obliged to bury their Dead in thoſe Places where they were to aſſemble for Divine Service: And in that Caſe it was Neceſſary that they ſhould uſe Embalming to preſerve the Bodies from Corruption, and make thoſe Places to be the leſs offenſive: As I find a late Ingenious Writer is alſo inclined to think [*l*] in his Reflexions on this Subject. Now the Heathens having generally another Way of Burying, this Cuſtom was of no Uſe among them: For it was incongruous to uſe Methods to preſerve the Body from Corruption, which they intended immediately to deſtroy by Fire and reduce to Aſhes in a Funeral-Pile. Theſe Things were plainly contradictory to one another: And therefore as the *Roman* Heathens made no Uſe of Embalming, ſo we may reckon this another Difference between the Chriſtian Funerals and thoſe of the Heathens.

Sect. 6. *The Chriſtians uſually buried by Day, the Heathens by Night.*

THERE was one Difference more in Point of Time. For the Heathens commonly performed their Funeral Obſequies by Night: But the Chriſtians, when they had Liberty, and could do it with Safety, always choſe the Day. In

[*l*] Reeve's Apolog. Not. on Minucius. p. 76.

In Times of Perſecution indeed, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they might often be forced to celebrate their Funeral Offices, as they did others, in the Security and Silence of the Night, to avoid the Rage of their Enemies. As we find an Example in the Paſſion of *Cyprian* [*m*], whoſe Body becauſe of the Curioſity of the *Gentiles* is ſaid to be buried ſecretly in the Night with Lamps and Torches. And yet even this was not always the Caſe in thoſe difficult Times: For the Judges were often better natured, than to deny them the common Right and Civility of Burying, which they themſelves thought was a Debt due to humane Nature in general: And therefore, whatever other Cruelties they exerciſed toward Chriſtians, they ordinarily gratified them in ſuffering them to bury the Martyrs whom they had ſlain; as is evident from ſeveral of their Acts or Hiſtories of their Paſſions [*n*]: In which Caſe there was no Need to fly to the Favour and Security of the Night, but they might bury, as they often did, in the open Day. Thus when *Polycarp* was burnt, the Diſciples afterward were permitted quietly [*o*] to gather up his Bones and Relicks, and bury them as they pleaſed. And *Aſturius* a *Roman* Senator is famed [*p*] for carrying *Marinus* on his own Shoulders from the Place of his Martyrdom to his Grave.

BUT

[*m*] Paſſio Cypr. p. 14. Ejus corpus propter Gentilium curioſitatem in proximo poſitum eſt cum Cereis & Scolacibus.

[*n*] Paſſio Maximiliani. ad calcem Lact. de Mort. perſec. p. 46. Pompeiana Matrona corpus ejus de Judice meruit & impoſuit Dormitorio ſuo. &c.

[*o*] Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 15.

[*p*] Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 16.

BUT however this Matter ſtood in Times of Perſecution, it is certain, that as ſoon as *Conſtantine* came to the Throne, Chriſtians choſe to perform their Funeral Rites openly in the Day: Which they did all the Time of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*; at which *Julian* the Apoſtate was ſo highly offended, that he ſet forth an Edict on purpoſe to forbid it, which is a certain Evidence in the Caſe. We underſtand, ſays he, that the Bodies of the Dead [q] are carried to their Graves with great Concourſe of People, and Multitudes to attend them: Which is an ominous Sight and a Defilement to the Eyes of Men. For how can the Day be auſpicious that ſees a Funeral? Or how can Men go thence to the Gods and to the Temples? Therefore becauſe Grief in Funeral Obſequies rather chuſes Secrecy, and it is all one to the Dead whether they be carried forth by Night or by Day, it is fit that ſuch Spectacles ſhould not fall under the View of all the People, that true Grief, and not the Pomp and Oſtentation of Obſequies ſhould appear in Funerals. This is a plain Reflexion on the Practice of the Chriſtians in the Two foregoing Reigns.

[q] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Violandis Sepulchris. Leg. 5. Efferri cognovimus cadavera mortuorum per confertam populi frequentiam, & per maximam inſiſtentium denſitatem: quod quidem oculos hominum infauſtis inceſtat aſpectibus. Qui enim dies eſt bene auſpicatus a Funere? aut quomodo ad Deos & Templa venietur? Ideoque quoniam & dolor in Exſequiis ſecretum amat, & diem functis nihil intereſt, utrum per noctes an per dies efferantur, liberari convenit populi totius aſpectus, ut Dolor eſſe in Funeribus, non Pompa Exſequiarum, nec Oſtentatio videatur.

Reigns. It grieved *Julian* to ſee the Chriſtians celebrate their Funerals ſo openly by Day, and with Indications of Joy rather than Grief; eſpecially in their Tranſlations of Martyrs, which was of the ſame Nature with Funerals, and was performed with great Magnificence and Expreſſions of Joy, with Pſalmody and Hymns to GOD, in a general Aſſembly and Concourſe of the People. As it was particularly in the Tranſlation of *Babylus* from *Daphne* to *Antioch*, which happened in his Time, and was one of the great Grievances in his Reign. For, as the Hiſtorian [r] tells us, all the Chriſtians of *Antioch*, Men and Women, young Men and Virgins, old Men and Children accompanied the Coffin all the Way, having their Precentors to ſing Pſalms, at the End of every one of which the whole Multitude joyned by way of *Antiphonal Reſponſe*, with this *Verſicle*, *Confounded be all they that worſhip carved Images, and that boaſt themſelves in Idols or vain Gods*. This they did for the Space of Six thouſand Paces or Forty Furlongs, even in the Hearing of *Julian* himſelf: Which ſo inraged him, that the next Day he put many of them into Priſon, and ſome to extreme Torture and Death. And this, no Doubt, was the ſecret Reaſon of his enacting that Law againſt the Manner of celebrating Chriſtian Funerals; though the Law itſelf pretends other Reaſons, taken from the ſuperſtitious Principles of his profound Philoſophy and Religion. His firſt Reaſon is, That the very Sight of a Funeral by Day, and much more their Attendance upon it, pollutes Men ſo,

[r] Socrat. Lib. 3. cap. 18. Sozomen. Lib. 5. cap. 19. Ruffin. Lib. 1. cap. 35. Theodor. Lib. 3. cap. 10.

ſo, that they are not fit all that Day to attend upon the Service of the Gods. And therefore a Prieſt or a Magiſtrate, by the Rules of the *Roman* Superſtition, was not allowed to attend upon any Funeral by Day, but only by Night; as *Gothofred* [s] out of the beſt *Roman* Writers, *Servius* and *Donatus*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Seneca*, *Tacitus* and *Dio*, ſhews at large in his Expoſition of that Law. This is a Reaſon taken from the Principles of his own Superſtition in Religion. Another is taken from the Principles of his Philoſophy, of which he pretended to be a great Maſter; namely this, That the Secrecy and Silence of the Night was fitter for Sorrow, than the Pomp and Oſtentation of the Day, as he called it. A third Reaſon was, That it was all one to the Dead, whether they were buried by Night or by Day: And therefore it was more commodious to bury by Night for the Sake of the Living, who by Nocturnal Funerals could not be polluted or offended. But the Chriſtians deſpiſed theſe Reaſons both as Unphiloſophical, and Ridiculous and Irreligious. As to the firſt, they knew no Pollution ariſing from the Attendance of a dead Body or a Funeral. The Bodies of Chriſtians were the Members of CHRIST, both alive and dead; and they owned no Defilement in accompanying ſuch to their Graves, who were there only laid aſleep and at reſt, as Candidates of the Reſurrection. Whatever the *Gentile Theology* might teach, they were fully perſuaded that the Dead were in the Communion of Saints ſtill, and as ſuch might be communicated with and attended without any

[s] Gothofred in dict. Leg. Juliani.

any moral Defilement or Pollution. And for his ſecond Reaſon from Philoſophy, That the Night is more convenient for Sorrow, while the Day only ſerves for Pomp and Oſtentation: This was no Argument to them, who were taught not to give way to exceſſive Sorrow for the Dead, nor to ſorrow as others without Hope for them that were only fal'n aſleep: For Chriſtian Mournings had alſo a Mixture of Joy and Comfort in them: Their Funeral Pomp was chiefly Pſalmody and Praiſes, with which they conducted the deceaſed Party to the Grave: And ſuch a Pomp as that had nothing of Oſtentation in it: It ſerved only to provoke the Living to Holineſs and Vertue, to be mindful of Death, and to make a good Preparation for it: And therefore was proper to be exhibited in open View, in the Eyes of all the People, in the moſt publick Manner, among Crowds of Spectators and a general Concourſe. For all which the Day was far more convenient than the Night, the Deſign of their Funerals being to be ſeen of all the People. And therefore ſince it was an indifferent thing to the Dead whether they were buried by Day or by Night, (which was his third Reaſon) the Chriſtians choſe the Day for ſuch Solemnities, as being much more proper for the Living, whoſe Advantage herein was cheifly regarded.

AND upon theſe Reaſons the Chriſtians continued to perform their Funeral Obſequies by Day, notwithſtanding *Julian*'s Inhibition or Reaſons to the contrary. *Gothofred* thinks, that from this Time there is no Inſtance of their Burying by Night: Againſt which he ſays there is nothing to be alledged but one Paſ-

ſage

ſage in St. *Ambroſe*, which ſeems to ſpeak [*t*] ſtill of Funerals by Night: For writing to Widows, he bids them conſider, whether Marrying again, and being conducted Home with Torches in the Night, would not look as much like a Funeral as a Marriage? But *Gothofred* ſays, this is not any Account of Fact, or what was then practiſed, but only an Alluſion to the Ancient Cuſtom of uſing Torches both at Marriages and Funerals, according to that of the Poet, *Vivite felices inter utramque facem*, which was the common Acclamation of the People to the new-married Couple, Live happy all your Lives between your Marriage-Torch and your Funeral-Torch. But I am not ſure that this is a good Anſwer, becauſe there are other undeniable Evidences in Fact of Chriſtians burying with Lamps and Torches attending the Funeral. And therefore ſome other Account ſeems neceſſary to be given of it: And it may be this: That the Chriſtians even when they buried by Day, uſed ſometimes to carry lighted Torches in the Proceſſion of the Funeral, as a Demonſtration of Joy: Which they alſo did upon ſome other Occaſions. For St. *Jerom* [*u*] ſays, In all the Churches of the *Eaſt*, when the Goſpel was to be read, they lighted Candles in the Day-time, not to drive away the Darkneſs,

[*t*] Ambroſ. de Viduis. Cum accenſis funalibus nox ducitur, nonne Pompæ Funeris Exequias magis putat quam Thalamum præparari?

[*u*] Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. 3. Per totas Orientis Eccleſias, quum legendum eſt Evangelium, accenduntur Luminaria jam Sole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, ſed ad ſignum Lætitiæ demonſtrandum, &c.

Darkneſs, but to give a Demonſtration and Teſtimony of their Joy for the Good News which the Goſpel brought, and by a corporeal Symbol to repreſent that Light of which the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, *Thy Word is a Lamp to my Feet, and a Light unto my Paths.* And therefore it is not improbable but that they might uſe the ſame Ceremony in their Funerals by Day, and for the ſame Reaſon, to demonſtrate their Joy, rather than Sorrow like the Heathens. In Fact it is evident beyond Diſpute, that they did uſe lighted Torches at their Funerals; and yet no Intimation is given that their Funerals were by Night. *Nazianzen* ſpeaking of the Obſequies of his Brother *Cæſarius* [x] ſays expreſsly, That his Mother carried a Torch in her Hand before his Body at his Funeral. St. *Jerom* ſays the Biſhops [y] of *Paleſtine* did the like at the Funeral of the famous Lady *Paula:* Some of them in Honour to her carried her Body to the Grave, and others went before the Corps with Lamps and Torches in their Hands. *Gregory Nyſſen* gives the ſame Account of the Funeral of his Siſter *Macrina* [z], that the Clergy went before the Corps, carrying lighted Torches in their Hands. And *Theodoret* [a] ſpeaking of the Tranſlation of *Chryſoſtom*'s Body from *Comanæ* to *Conſtantinople*, ſays, There was ſuch a Multitude

[x] Naz. Orat. 10. in Cæſarium. T. 1. p. 169.

[y] Hieron. Ep. 27. ad Euſtoch. in Epitaph. Paulæ. Tranſlata Epiſcoporum manibus, & cervicem feretro ſubjicientibus, cum alij Pontifices Lampadas cereoſque præferrent.

[z] Nyſſen. Vit. Macrinæ. T. 2. p. 201.

[a] Theod. Lib. 5. cap. 36.

Multitude of People met him in Ships in his Paſſage over the *Boſphorus*, that the Sea was even covered with Lamps. St. *Chryſoſtom* himſelf [*b*] ſpeaks alſo of the Uſe of Lamps in their Funerals. And in one of *Juſtinian*'s *Novels* [*c*] the *Acolythiſts* are forbidden to exact any Thing for their Torches, becauſe at *Conſtantinople* they were allowed for Funerals out of a Publick Fund, which was there provided for the Interment of the Dead. Theſe are not bare Alluſions to an ancient Cuſtom, but plain Accounts of Fact, which either prove that Chriſtians celebrated ſome of their Funerals by Night, or elſe that they uſed lighted Torches by Day; as ſome of the Teſtimonies ſeem to intimate: For *Chryſoſtom* ſays, they uſed their Lights before the Dead to ſignify that they were Champions or Conquerors, and as ſuch, conducted in Triumph to their Graves. And thus far *Gothofred*'s Opinion may be admitted, that the Chriſtians generally celebrated their Funerals by Day: But then this muſt be added to it, That they uſed Lamps and Torches lighted in the Day, to expreſs their Joy, and ſignify their Reſpect and Honour to the Deceaſed as a victorious Combatant, who had conquered this World here below, and was now gone to take Poſſeſſion of a better World above. If any Weight could be laid upon the uncertain Authority of the Writer of the Life of St. *German* Biſhop of *Auxerre* in *Surius*, it would put the Matter out of Diſpute: For he

[*b*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1784.
[*c*] Juſtin. Novel. 59. cap. 5.

ſays [*d*] the Multitude of Lights uſed at his Funeral ſeemed to outdo the Sun, and beat back its Rays at Noon-day. But without this uncertain Teſtimony enough has been ſaid to ſhew the Difference between the Cuſtom of the Heathens burying by Night and the Chriſtians burying by Day, which is the principal Thing I intended in this Part of my Diſcourſe. I only add one Thing by way of Confirmation, that the Chriſtians in this Age generally celebrated the *Euchariſt* at their Funerals, which is a Service belonging to the Day, and not the Night; and to the Morning Part of the Day, and not the Afternoon. Whence in one of the Councils of *Carthage* we find an Order, that if any Commendation of the Dead was to be made in the Afternoon, it ſhould be performed only with Prayers and not the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*: Which is a certain Argument, that their Funerals were then generally by Day, ſince the Funeral Office was in a manner appropriated to the Euchariſtical or Morning-Service: But of this more hereafter in its proper Place.

[*d*] Surius. 30. Jul. ap. Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 14.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

How they prepared the Body for the Funeral, and with what Religious Ceremonies and Solemnities they interred it.

Sect. 1. *Chriſtians always careful to bury the Dead even with the Hazard of their Lives.*

COME we now to the Ceremonies uſed in preparing the Body for the Funeral, and the Solemnity of interring it. No Act of Charity is more magnified by the Ancients than this of Burying the Dead: And therefore they many Times ventured upon it even with the Hazard of their Lives. In Times of Perſecution, and in Times of Peſtilential Diſeaſes this could not be done without great Danger; and yet they never ſcrupled it in either Caſe. *Aſturius* a *Roman* Senator [a] took the Body of *Marinus* the Martyr from the Place of Execution, and carried it on his own Shoulders to the Grave. And *Eutychianus* is celebrated in the *Roman* Martyrology and the Pontifical for having buried Three [b] Hundred Forty-two Martyrs in ſeveral Places with his own Hands. Sometimes they ventured to ſteal away the Bodies of the Martyrs in the Night, when they could not otherwiſe either by Money or Entreaties get Liberty to bury them. As we learn from the Epiſtle of the Church of *Lyons* and *Vienna* in *Euſebius* [c], where

[a] Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 16. [b] Pontifical. Vit. Eutychiani. [c] Euſeb. Lib. 5. cap. 1.

where the Brethren expreſs their profoundeſt Sorrow and Grief becauſe their Enemies would not ſuffer them to bury the Bodies of their Martyrs. For they kept ſuch a ſtrict Guard upon them, that they could not come at them by Night to take them away, neither would Money prevail, nor any Sollicitations move the Keepers to deliver the Bodies up to be buried, but they kept them Six Days expoſed in the open Air, and then burned them, and ſcattered their Aſhes in the River, that there might be no Relicks of them remaining upon the Earth. The Brethren here ventured their Lives by Night, to have got the Bodies, if it had been poſſible, to have given them a decent Funeral. And there want not Inſtances in the ancient Martyrologies of ſome who became Martyrs themſelves upon this account for their exceſſive Charity to their Brethren. The other difficult Caſe in which they expreſſed an equal Charity and Concern, was the Time when Peſtilential Diſeaſes raged in the World. Even in this Caſe they would never deſert their Brethren while alive, nor leave them unburied after Death. *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* gives us a remarkable Inſtance of this Care [*d*] in that terrible Plague that happened in *Egypt* in his Time. He ſays, the Chriſtians not only attended their Brethren when they were ſick, but alſo took Care of them when they were dead, cloſing their Eyes and Mouths, laying them forth, watching with them, waſhing their Bodies, dreſſing them and clothing them in Garments proper for their Burial, and then carrying

[*d*] Ap. Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 22.

ing them out on their own Shoulders to their Graves: In doing which they often ventured ſo far, that in a ſhort Time it was their own Lot to have the ſame good Offices done to themſelves by others.

Sect. 2. *How they prepared the Body for Burial. Firſt, Cloſing its Eyes and Mouth: A decent Circumſtance, obſerved by all Nations.*

THIS Paſſage of *Dionyſius* ſhews us not only the great Charity of the ancient Chriſtians in Burying the Dead, but alſo ſome of the leſſer Circumſtances and Ceremonies than uſually obſerved in preparing and decently compoſing the Body for its Burial. Firſt, he ſays, they were uſed to cloſe its Eyes and Mouth as ſoon as it was dead. Which was a Cuſtom of Decency obſerved by all Nations, and taught them as a comely Thing by Nature itſelf. Only the *Romans* added another Ceremony to it, which had nothing of Nature, but Superſtition in it: Which was, as *Pliny* [e] deſcribes it, To open their Eyes again at the Funeral-Pile, and ſhew them to Heaven: Which, according to the *Roman* Superſtition, was as neceſſary to be done, as it was neceſſary at firſt to cloſe their Eyes againſt the Sight of Men. The Ground of this Superſtition I will not ſtand to enquire into, but only obſerve, That as the Chriſtians rejected this Ceremony becauſe it was a mere Superſtition, ſo they re-

[e] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 11. cap. 37. p. 204. Morientibus oculos operire, rurſuſque in Rogo patefacere, Quiritium magno ritu Sacrum eſt. Ita more condito, ut neque ab homine ſupremum eos ſpectari fas ſit, & cœlo non oſtendi nefas.

tained the other as agreeable to that Decency which is taught by Nature.

Sect. 3. *Then Washing the Body in Water.*

THE next Circumstance mentioned by *Dionysius* was laying the Body out, and Washing it with Water. This was a Ceremony used not only by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but by the *Hebrews* also: From whom it was taken and continued by the *Christians*, as it is now by the *Jews*, though for more superstitious Reasons than formerly, as *Buxtorf* acquaints us [*f*], at this Day. That it was a very early Rite derived from the *Jews* to the *Christians*, we learn from the Account which is given of *Tabitha*, *Acts* ix. 37. where it is said, That *when she was dead, they washed her, and laid her in an upper Chamber.* And some will have [*g*] this to be the Meaning of the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* xv. 29. where he speaks of being baptized or washed for the Dead: Which is not so certain. However, the Custom is mentioned as usual among Christians, not only by *Dionysius*, but *Tertullian* [*h*], who says, The Christians used Bathing as well as the Heathens, at proper Times for Health, to preserve their vital Heat and Blood: For it was time enough to grow pale and cold when they came to be washed after Death. This was also an innocent and decent Ceremony, and therefore the Christians retained it, not for any mystical Signification,

[*f*] Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. cap. 35. p. 501.

[*g*] Vid. Beza in Act. 9. 37.

[*h*] Tertul. Apol. cap. 42. Lavor honesta hora & salubri, quæ mihi & calorem & sanguinem servet: Rigere & pallere post Lavacrum mortuus possum.

Signification, that any of them mention, but as a Civil Rite, and comely Preparation of the Body for its Burial. How long it continued in Practice, I know not exactly: But *Durantus* [*i*] gives later Inſtances of its Uſe out of *Gregory the Great*, and *Gregory* of *Tours*, and *Bede*'s Life of St. *Cuthbert*, and *Eginhardus*'s Life of *Charles the Great*.

Sect. 4. *Dreſſing it in Funeral Robes: And theſe ſometimes rich and ſplendid.*

THE next Circumſtance noted by *Dionyſius*, is Dreſſing and Adorning the Body in Robes proper for its Funeral. He takes no notice of Anointing the Body with precious Oyntment, nor of the Uſe of any Embalming (which was proper to be mentioned between Waſhing and Clothing); becauſe this was not ſo generally uſed, as being a more chargeable thing, and not ſo proper therefore to the deplorable Caſe he was ſpeaking of. But we have had Occaſion to ſpeak enough of this before. The preſent Circumſtance of Dreſſing and Adorning the Body in ſome Robes or Veſtments proper for its Burial, is mentioned by ſeveral other Writers, who ſpeak of theſe Robes as differing much, either according to the Dignity and Quality of the Deceaſed, or the Quality of thoſe who prepared them. *Euſebius* [*k*] ſays, *Aſturius* being a rich and noble *Roman* Senator, wound up the Body of *Marinus* the Martyr, ἐν μάλα πλουσίως, in a very rich Garment, and ſo carried him to his Grave. And *Conſtantine*, according

[*i*] Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 13.
[*k*] Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 16.

according to the Dignity of an Emperor, was buried in a Purple Robe, with other Magnificence proper to the Dignity of his Perſon, as the ſame *Euſebius* [*l*] informs us. And St. *Jerom* ſignifies this to have been the Cuſtom of the Rich [*m*], tho' according to his uſual Manner he ſomewhat ſatyrically inveighs againſt it: Spare, I pray, yourſelves, ſpare at leaſt your Riches which ye love: Why do you wind up your Dead in Clothes of Gold? Why does not your Ambition ceaſe in the midſt of Mourning and Tears? Cannot the Bodies of the Rich find a Way to rot any otherwiſe than in Silk? Thus he at once gives us the Cuſtom, and his own tart Reflexion on it; ſhewing himſelf a Friend rather to the plain and common Way of Dreſſing the Dead for their Funeral: Which was to wrap them up in clean Linnen Clothes, after the Example of CHRIST's Body, as the Manner of the *Jews* was to bury. So St. *Jerom* ſays in another Place [*n*], ſpeaking of the Woman that was Seven times ſmitten: The Clergy whoſe Office it was, wound up her bloody Body in Linnen-Clothes. And ſo *Prudentius* in his *Hymn upon the Obſequies of the Dead*, repreſents it as the moſt uſual Funeral [*o*] Dreſs. And *Athanaſius* [*p*]

[*l*] Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. Lib. 4. cap. 66.

[*m*] Hieron. Vit. Pauli. Parcite, quæſo, vobis, parcite ſaltem divitiis quas amatis. Cur & mortuos veſtros auratis obvolvitis veſtibus? Cur ambitio inter luctus lachrymaſque non ceſſat? An cadavera divitum niſi in ſerico putreſcere neſciunt?

[*n*] Hieron. Ep. 49. ad Innocent. Clerici quibus id officii erat, cruentum linteo cadaver obvolverunt.

[*o*] Prudent. Cathemer in Hymn. ad Exequias Defunctorum. Candore nitentia c'aro Prætendere Lintea mos eſt.

[p] ſays, It was the Cuſtom of the *Egyptians* to uſe Linnen not only for the meaner Sort of People, but for the Nobles alſo and the Martyrs. However, ſome Adorning or other was always uſed: And therefore *Sidonius Apollinaris* repreſents it [q] as a Thing contrary to the common Way of Burying in the *Goths*, that being forced to inter their Slain in a tumultuous Manner, they could neither waſh them, nor clothe them for the Grave, but threw whole Loads of them naked and dropping with Blood into the Earth: Which is uſual enough in Burying the Slain of an Army in the Field, but no way agreeable to the Manner of Burying in Time of Peace. He that would ſee more of this Cuſtom, may conſult the Learned *Savaro*'s Notes upon *Sidonius*, who gives other Inſtances out of *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*, and *Corippus*, and *Gregory* of *Tours*, and *Conſtantius*'s Life of *Germanus*, which I will not ſtand to repeat in this Place. I only add that of St. *Jerom* [r] where he commends the Lady *Paula* for her great Charity to the Poor, in that ſhe never ſuffered any of their Bodies to go without a Funeral Garment to their Graves; and out of her immenſe Propenſity to the Practice of this Vertue, wiſhed, That ſhe herſelf might die poor, and be beholden to the Charity of ſome other to give her a Piece of Linnen to wrap up her Body for its Funeral: And to this ſubjoyn that paſſage

[p] Athan. Vit. Antonii.

[q] Sidon. Lib. 3. Ep. 3. Quibus nec elutis Veſtimenta, nec veſtitis ſepulchra tribuebant.

[r] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Quis inopum moriens non illius veſtimentis obvolutus eſt?

ſage of St. *Chryſoſtom* [s] where he makes this Funeral Clothing to have ſomething of Signification in it, ſaying, We clothe the Dead in new Garments, to ſignify or repreſent beforehand their putting on the new Clothing of Incorruption.

Sect. 5. *Watching and attending it in its Coffin till the time of the Funeral.*

THE next Circumſtance mentioned in the ſhort Account of *Dionyſius*, is the decent Compoſing them in their Coffin, and Watching and Attending them till the Time of their Funeral. It was the Cuſtom of all Nations to let the dead Corps lie ſome Time unburied, leſt there ſhould chance to be ſome Vital Spirit or Remains of Life in them, that might be quite deſtroyed by too haſty a Funeral. For this Reaſon the *Romans* let their Body lie Seven Days; mean while uſing their Ablution in warm Water, and their ſeveral Conclamations, as they called them, to try if there was any Spirit left in them, which might be awaked and recovered to Life again. If after the laſt Conclamation no Sign of Life appeared, then *Conclamatum eſt*, there was no Remedy, after this Cry they carried them forth to their Funeral-Pile. The *Roman* Antiquaries note farther, That the Rich were commonly laid in Beds, and the poorer Sort in Coffins, in the Porch or Entrance of their Houſes cloſe by their Gate. The Chriſtians Ceremonies were in ſome Things the ſame, and in ſome Things a little Refinement upon theſe. The common Sort of People were laid in Coffins of plain Wood, as St.

[s] Chryſ. Hon. 116. T. 6. ed. Savil.

St. *Ambroſe* and others inform us [*t*]. For in this the Chriſtians choſe rather to follow the Heathens than the *Jews*: The *Jews* uſing no Coffins, but only Grave-clothes to wrap up the Body, and Biers to carry it to the Grave. Others had their Coffins adorned with more coſtly Materials. *Conſtantine* was put in a Coffin overlaid with Gold, ἐν χρυσῇ λάρνακι, as both *Euſebius* [*u*] and *Socrates* word it, and that was covered alſo with a Purple Pall. St. *Jerom* ſays likewiſe, That *Bleſilla* the Daughter of *Paula*, a rich Lady in *Rome*, had her Coffin covered with a Cloth of Gold: But St. *Jerom* himſelf did not like it; for he ſays immediately upon it, It ſeemed to him as if he then heard CHRIST crying from Heaven, I own not this Garment: This Clothing is none of mine; this Ornament is the Ornament of Strangers. From whence we may conclude, that this Way of adorning Coffins ſo pompouſly was not very common among Chriſtians. Neither did they imitate the Heathens in their Collocation in the Porches or Entrance of their Houſes: Though *Durantus* [*y*] ſays, This old *Roman* Cuſtom is ſtill continued at *Paris*: But they ſet their Coffins either in ſome inner-Room of their Houſe, or an upper-Room, as we read of *Tabitha*, *Acts* ix. 37. or carried them to the Church,

[*t*] Ambroſ. in Luc. 2. *cited by* Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 1. cap. 23.

[*u*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. Lib. 4. c. 66. Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 40.

[*x*] Hieron. Ep. 27. ad Paulam. Aureum feretro velamen obtenditur. Videbatur mihi tunc clamare de cœlo: Non agnoſco veſtes: Amictus iſte non meus: hic Ornatus alienus eſt.

[*y*] Durant. de Ritib. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 13.

Church, where they watched with the Body to the Time of its Funeral. *Euſebius* [z] ſays, *Conſtantine*'s Body was laid in his golden Coffin covered with Purple in one of the chief Rooms of the Palace; where Lights were hanged round about it in golden Candleſticks; and the Body ſo adorned with the Purple Robe and Royal Diadem, was attended by the Watchers for ſeveral Days and Nights together; Such a ſplendid Sight as was never ſeen from the Foundation of the World before. Others choſe immediately after Death to be laid in the Church, where the Watchers alſo attended them till they were carried forth to their Funeral. Thus *Paulinus* [a] tells us, the Body of St. *Ambroſe*, as ſoon as it was dead, was carried into the Church, and there they watched with him the Night before *Eaſter*. And here inſtead of the *Roman* Conclamation, they were wont to make the Church eccho with Pſalmody, and Hymns, and Praiſes to GOD, which was a noble Refinement upon the old Ceremony of Conclamation. Thus *Gregory Nyſſen* [b] repreſents the Watching that was kept with the Body of his Siſter *Macrina*. They watched and ſung *Pſalms* all Night, as they were uſed to do on the *Vigils* or *Pernoctations* preceding the Feſtivals of the Martyrs. And ſomething of this Kind is that which St. *Auſtin* ſays [c] was done in his Mother's Houſe ſome Time after

[z] Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. Lib. 4. c. 66.

[a] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. Ad Eccleſiam, antelucana hora qua defunctus eſt, corpus ipſius portatum eſt, ibique eadem fuit nocte quam vigilavimus in Paſcha. Vid. Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confeſſor. cap. 104.

[b] Nyſſen. Vit. Macrinæ. T. 2. p. 200.

[c] Aug. Confeſſ. Lib. 9. c. 12.

after ſhe was dead: *Euodius* took the *Pſalter* and began to ſing a *Pſalm*, and the whole Family anſwered alternately, *I will ſing of Mercy and Judgment, unto Thee,* O LORD, *will I ſing.*

Sect. 6.

The Exportation of the Body performed by near Relations, or Perſons of Dignity, or any charitable Perſons, as the Caſe and Circumſtances of the Party required.

THE laſt Circumſtance mentioned by *Dionyſius*, is the Exportation of the Body to the Grave: Which in the particular Caſe he ſpeaks of, being the Time of a raging Plague and Peſtilence, was done by ſuch charitable Perſons as were willing to venture their own Lives to diſcharge theſe laſt pious Offices to their dying Brethren. And there were many Occaſions for this Sort of Charity in the Three firſt Ages, not only upon the account of infectious Diſeaſes, but for the Multitude of Martyrs, and Numbers of the Poor, who had nothing to depend upon but the Kindneſs of ſuch charitable Perſons in the Church. Sometimes this Office was performed by the next Relations; and ſometimes by Perſons of Rank and Quality, when they deſigned to do a particular Honour to the Party deceaſed in Regard to his Merit and Vertue. I have noted before out of *Euſebius* [*d*], how *Aſturius* a noble *Roman* Senator carried *Marinus* the Martyr on his own Shoulders to his Grave: And how *Eutychian* Biſhop of *Rome* is ſaid to have buried above Three hundred Martyrs with his own Hands. St. *Jerom* alſo tells us, That the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*

[*d*] Euſeb. Lib. 7. cap. 16. *See before*, n. 1.

ſtine [e] paid this particular Reſpect to the Famous Lady *Paula*, that they carried her forth with their own Hands, and put their own Necks under her Coffin. So *Gregory Nyſſen* [f] ſays, that he and ſome others of the moſt eminent Clergy carried his Siſter *Macrina* to her Grave. *Nazianzen* alſo [g] tells us, That St. *Baſil* was carried χερσὶν ἁγίων, by the Hands of the Clergy in Honour to his Perſon.

Sect. 7. *Particular Orders of Men appointed in ſome great Churches, under the Names of* Copiatæ, *and* Parabolani, *to take Care of the Sick and perform all theſe Offices for the Dead.*

In the firſt Ages the Poor were buried at the common Charge and Charity of the Church, as we learn from *Tertullian*'s Apology, cap. 39. But afterward in ſome of the greater Churches, where there were Multitudes of Poor, in the Beginning of the Fourth Century we find two Orders of Men ſet up in the Church with a Sort of Clerical Character, whoſe particular Buſineſs was to attend the Sick, eſpecially in Infectious Diſeaſes, and to do all Offices that were neceſſary to be done in order to give the Poor a decent Funeral. The one were called *Parabolani*, from venturing their Lives among the Sick in Contagious Diſtempers; and the other *Copiatæ*, *Laborantes*, *Lecticarij*, *Foſſarii*, *Sandapilarij* and *Decani* (anſwerable to the old *Roman* Names *Libitinarij*,

[e] Hieron. Ep. 27. Epitaph. Paulæ. Tranſlata Epiſcoporum manibus & cervicem feretro ſubjicientibus.

[f] Nyſſen. Vit. Macrinæ. T. 2. p. 201.

[g] Naz. Orat. 20. in Laud. Baſil. p. 371.

bitinarij and *Veſpillones*) whoſe Office was to labour in digging of Graves for the Poor, and carrying the Coffin or Bier, and depoſiting them in the Ground, as moſt of the Names ſignify: Which it is ſufficient only to hint here in this Place, becauſe I have given a full Account of theſe Orders of Men in two diſtinct Chapters [*] in a former Book.

Sect. 8. *Pſalmody the great Ceremony uſed in all Proceſſions of Funerals among Chriſtians, in Oppoſition to the Heathens Piping and Funeral-Song.*

Now to proceed: Whereas the Heathens had their *Nænia* or Funeral-Song, together with their Pipers and ſometimes Trumpeters to play [*h*] before them: Inſtead of this the Chriſtians choſe to carry forth their Dead in a more ſolemn Manner with Pſalmody to the Grave. We cannot expect to find much of this in the three firſt Ages, while they were in a State of Perſecution: But as ſoon as their peaceable Times were come, we find it in every Writer. The Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* gives this Direction [*i*], That they ſhould carry forth their Dead with Singing, if they were Faithful. *For precious in the Sight of the* LORD *is the Death of his Saints.* And again it is ſaid, *Return to thy Reſt, O my Soul, for the* LORD *hath rewarded thee. And the Memory of the Juſt ſhall be bleſſed: And the Souls of the Juſt are in the Hand of the* LORD. Theſe probably were ſome of

[*] Book III. Chap. 8 & 9.

[*h*] Vid. Roſin. Antiq. Rom. Lib. 5. cap. 39. p. 991.

[*i*] Conſtit. Lib. 6. cap. 30. ψάλλοντες παρπέμπετε αὐτοὺ, &c.

of thoſe Verſicles which made up their Pſalmody upon ſuch Occaſions. For *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of this Matter, not only tells us the Reaſon of their Pſalmody, but alſo what particular Pſalms or Portions of them they made uſe of as proper for this Solemnity. What mean our Hymns [*k*], ſays he, Do we not glorify GOD, and give Him Thanks, that He hath crowned him that is departed, that He hath delivered him from Trouble, that He hath ſet him free from all Fear? Conſider what thou ſingeſt at that Time: *Turn again unto thy Reſt, O my Soul, for the* LORD *hath rewarded thee.* And again, *I will fear no Evil, becauſe Thou art with me.* And again, *Thou art my Refuge from the Affliction which compaſſeth me about.* Conſider what theſe Pſalms mean. If thou believeſt the Things, which thou ſayſt, to be true, why doſt thou weep and lament, and make a mere Pageantry and Mock of thy Singing? If thou believeſt them not to be true, why doſt thou play the Hypocrite ſo much as to ſing? He ſpeaks this againſt thoſe who uſed exceſſive Mourning at Funerals, ſhewing them the Incongruity of That with this Pſalmody of the Church. And he uſes the ſame Argument frequently upon this Occaſion, diſſuading Men, not from moderate, but exceſſive Sorrow, as inconſiſtent with the uſual Pſalmody of the Church, and expoſing them at the ſame Time to the Ridicule of the *Gentiles*. For what, ſaid they, Are theſe the Men that talk ſo finely and philoſophically about the Reſurrection? Yes indeed! But their Actions do not agree with their

[*k*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1784 & 5.

their Doctrine. For whilſt they profeſs in Words the Belief of a Reſurrection, in their Deeds they act more like Men that deſpair of it. If they were really perſuaded that their Dead were gone to a better Life, they would not ſo lament. Therefore, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [*l*] let us be aſhamed to carry out our Dead after this Manner. For our Pſalmody, and Prayers, and ſolemn Meeting of Fathers, and ſuch a Multitude of Brethren, is not that thou ſhouldſt weep and lament, and be angry at GOD; but give him Thanks for taking a deceaſed Brother to himſelf. St. *Jerom* alſo frequently ſpeaks of this Pſalmody as one of the chief Parts of their Funeral-Pomp. He ſays [*m*], at the Funeral of the Lady *Paula* at *Bethleem*, which was attended with a very great Concourſe of the Biſhops, and Clergy, and People of *Paleſtine*, there was no Howling or Lamenting as uſed to be among the Men of this World, but Singing of *Pſalms* in *Greek*, and *Latin*, and *Syriack* (becauſe there were People of different Languages preſent) at the Proceſſion of her Body to the Grave. And ſpeaking of St. *Antony*'s Burying *Paul* the Hermit [*n*], he ſays, He wound him up, and carried him forth, Singing Hymns and Pſalms, according to the Manner of Chriſtian Burial. *Gregory Nyſſen* gives the ſame Account of the Funeral [*o*] of his Siſter *Macrina*, and *Nazian-*

[*l*] Chryſ. Hom. 29. de Dormientib. T. 5. p. 423. Vid. Hom. 61. in Joan. & Hom. 6. de Pœniten. in Edit. Latin. Hom. 14. in 1 Tim. Hom. 116. T. 6. Edit. Savil.

[*m*] Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ. Ep. 27.

[*n*] Id. Vit. Pauli. Obvoluto & prolato foras corpore, Hymnos quoque & Pſalmos de Chriſtiana traditione decantans. &c.

[*o*] Nyſſ. de Macrina.

zen [p] of the Funeral of his Brother *Cæsarius*. And the Practice was so universal, that *Socrates* [q] takes Notice of it among the *Novatians*, telling us how they carried the Body of *Paulus* their Bishop at *Constantinople* with Psalmody to his Grave. And it being so general and decent a Practice, it was a Grievance to any one to be denied the Privilege of it. *Victor Uticensis* [r] upon this account complains of the inhuman Cruelty of one of the Kings of the *Vandals*: Who can bear, says he, to think of it without Tears, when he calls to mind, how he commanded the Bodies of our Dead to be carried in Silence without the Solemnity of the usual Hymns to the Grave? For none were wont to be denied this Privilege save only such as either laid violent Hands upon themselves [s], or were publickly executed for their Crimes, or died in a wilful Neglect of Baptism. Such were not allowed this Solemnity of Psalmody at their Funeral; being in the same Rank with excommunicated Persons, who had no Title to be Partakers in any Offices peculiarly appropriated to Communicants in the Church. But such as were called away out of the World in the Vocation of GOD, as one of the Councils of *Toledo* [t] words it, that is, the Bodies

[p] Naz. Orat. 10. T. 1. p. 169.

[q] Socrat. Lib. 7. cap. 46.

[r] Victor. de Persec. Vandal. Lib. 1. Bibl. Patr. T. 7. p. 589.

[s] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 34 & 35.

[t] Conc. Tolet. 3. can. 22. Qui divina vocatione ab hac vita recedunt, cum Psalmis tantummodo, & Psallentium vocibus debere ad sepulchra deferri. Nam funebre Carmen, quod vulgo defunctis cantari solet, vel in pectoribus se, aut proximos aut Familias cædere omnino prohibemus. &c.

Bodies of all Pious and Religious Chriſtians, were allowed this Honour of being carried to their Graves with Singing: But then that Singing muſt not be thoſe Funeral-Songs which were commonly uſed among the *Gentiles*, accompanied with antick Beating of their Breaſts, and the like: For it was ſufficient for Chriſtians, whoſe Bodies were buried in Hopes of a Reſurrection, to have the Service of divine Songs, or Pſalmody beſtowed upon them. This ſhews us another Difference between the Heathen and the Chriſtian Way of Burial. The Heathens were uſed to have their *Præficæ*, or Women hired on purpoſe to make Lamentation at their Funerals: Which even *Lucian* himſelf derides, bringing in a dead Man, by way of *Proſopopœia*, asking this Queſtion, What does your Lamentation ſignify to me, or your Beating of the Breaſt at the Sound of the Pipe? And *Chryſoſtom* [u] in a more ſerious manner reproves ſome, who in his Time were ſtill fond of this Heatheniſh Cuſtom, whom he threatens, unleſs they amended, to proſecute them with the utmoſt Severity of Excommunication.

Sect. 9. *Crowning the Coffin with Garlands not allowed among Chriſtians, though they ſcrupled not to carry Lights before them.*

THE Heathens were uſed in their Funeral Pomp to crown their Corps with Garlands, in Token of Victory, as *Clement Alexandrinus* interprets it [x], drawing thence an Argument to prove that their Idol-Gods were only dead Men. *Tertullian* [y] alſo expreſsly mentions their Funeral Crowns, but he

[u] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1786.
[x] Clem. Pædagog. Lib. 2. cap. 8.
[y] Tertul. de Coron. cap. 13.

condemns them among all the reſt that he writes againſt in his Book of the *Soldier's Crown*, where he reckons them all idolatrous, as uſed by the Heathens. We do not find this Cuſtom uſed by Chriſtians in their Funeral Rites. The Heathen in *Minucius* makes it one Topick of Accuſation [z] againſt them, That they did not crown their Sepulchres: And *Minucius* in his Anſwer [a] owns the Charge: We do not crown the Dead: And I wonder more at you, that ye give either Torches or Crowns to a dead Man, who has no Senſe of them; when, if he be happy, he needs no Flowers; and if he be miſerable, he takes no Pleaſure in them. We adorn our Funeral Obſequies with the ſame Tranquillity that we live; not making fading Crowns to ourſelves, but expecting a Crown of everlaſting Flowers from GOD. It is plain from this, that the Chriſtians did not crown their Dead. Neither, according to this Reading of *Minucius*, could they uſe Torches at their Funerals. But this ſeems ſtrange, when it is certain, that in the Time of *Minucius* they were often forced to bury in the Night. Therefore it is probable the Word *Facem* is crept into the Text: For the Senſe and Scope of the Argument requires it not. However, in after-Ages the Chriſtians ſcrupled not to carry Lights and Torches by Day before their Dead, as an Embleme of Victory and Joy, as we heard St. *Chryſoſtom* himſelf

[z] Minuc. p. 35. Coronas etiam ſepulchris denegatis.

[a] Ibid. p. 109. Nec mortuos coronamus. Ergo vos in hoc magis miror, quemadmodum tribuatis exanimi aut non ſentienti Facem, aut non ſentienti Coronam: cum & beatus non egeat, & miſer non gaudeat floribus. &c.

himſelf before [b] explaining the Reaſon of it. So that either the Chriſtians did never ſcruple this Ceremony, or elſe it muſt be ſaid, they thought fit to adopt it into their Rites in after-Ages.

Sect. 10. *Funeral Orations made in the Praiſe of eminent Perſons.*

WHEN they had thus conducted the Corps to the Place of Burial, it was uſual to make a Funeral Oration in the Praiſe and Commendation of the Party deceaſed, if there was any Thing ſingular and eminent in him, fit to be recommended as an Example and Pattern of Virtue to others, or worthy to be related as a juſt Memorial and Monument of his own Merits and Glory. We have ſeveral Orations of this Kind ſtill remaining: As that of *Euſebius* at the Funeral of *Conſtantine*; and thoſe of St. *Ambroſe* at the Funerals of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, and his own Brother *Satyrus*; and thoſe of *Gregory Nazianzen* upon his Father, and his Brother *Cæſarius*, and his great Friend St. *Baſil*, and his Siſter *Gorgonia*; and that of *Gregory Nyſſen* upon the Death of *Melitus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, which *Socrates* in one Place [c] calls ἐπικήδειον λόγον, his *Funeral Oration*, and in another Place [d] ἐπιτάφιον, his *Epitaph*. But St. *Jerom*'s *Epitaphs* upon *Nepotian*, *Fabiola* and *Paula*, are of another Sort, being only Private Characters compoſed by him to perpetuate their Memory, but not delivered in Publick as *Funeral Orations*.

[b] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. *cited before*, Chap. 2. n. 6.
[c] Socrat. Lib. 5. cap. 9.
[d] Id. Lib. 4. cap. 26.

Sect. 11. *Together with Pſalmody and the uſual Service of the Church.*

BUT whether there was a *Funeral Oration* or not, the other Service of the Church was uſually performed at the Interment of the Dead; the whole Service, if the Burial was in the Morning, when the Oblation of the *Euchariſt* might be celebrated; or elſe only the Pſalmody and Prayers, if the Funeral was in the Afternoon. The Pſalmody and Prayers are largely deſcribed by the Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* [e], who ſpeaks firſt of their ſinging Hymns of Thankſgiving to GOD for the Party deceaſed, and his making a victorious End, and deſiring that they may come to the ſame Reſt with him. Then the Biſhop makes a Prayer of Thankſgiving alſo to GOD for making the Party perſevere in the Knowledge of GOD and his Chriſtian Warfare unto Death. Then the Deacon reads ſuch Portions of Scripture as contain the Promiſes of a Reſurrection, and the Hymn appertaining to the ſame Purpoſe. Thus far was the Service of the *Catechumens* in this Office of Burial. After their Diſmiſſion, the chief Deacon makes a Commemoration of all Saints departed, and proclaims them Conquerors, giving the ſame *Elogium* to him that was now to be interred, and exhorting all to follow his Example, and beg of CHRIST an happy End. Then the Biſhop prays after this for him that was deceſed, That GOD would forgive him all his Sins contracted by human Infirmity, and tranſlated

[e] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierarch. Cap. 7. p. 408.

tranſlate him into the Place of Light and the Regions of the Living, and give him a Manſion in the Boſom of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, whence all Grief, and Sorrow, and Mourning are fled away. Then he gives him the Kiſs of Peace, and anoints him with the holy Oyl, and ſo commits him to the Earth. Here is no mention of the *Euchariſt* being celebrated in this Office, but we find it in others: And the two laſt Ceremonies of giving the Kiſs of Peace, and Anointing with Oyl, are in a manner peculiar to this Author, and the former of them expreſsly forbidden in ſome other Rules of Burial. But the Hymns and Pſalmody, and proper Portions of Scripture and Prayers, made a Part of the Burial-Office in all Churches. St. *Jerom* [*f*] thus deſcribes the Funeral of *Fabiola*: The *Pſalms* were ſung aloud, and the Eccho of the *Allelujahs* ſhook the Golden Roof of the Church. So again at the Funeral of *Paula* [*g*] he ſpeaks not only of their Singing in the Proceſſion, but in the Middle of the Church alſo. The *African* Councils ſpeak likewiſe of Prayers uſed at the Funerals of the Dead: Which Prayers were particularly termed Ἀναφοραὶ and *Commendationes* [*h*], Commendatory Prayers, being ſuch as they uſed when they

[*f*] Hieron. Epitaph. Fabiol. cap. 4. Sonabant Pſalmi, & aurata templorum tecta reboans in ſublime quatiebat Alleluya.

[*g*] Id. Epitaph. Paulæ. Ep. 27. Alij Choros Pſallentium ducerent in media Eccleſia. &c.

[*h*] Conc. Milevitan. can. 12. Orationes quæ probatæ fuerint in Synodo, ſive Præfationes, ſive Commendationes, ſive manus Impoſitiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur. &c. Vid. Cod. Can. Eccleſ. Afric. can. 106.

committed the Bodies to the Ground: And theſe are appointed to be ſuch only as were approved in Synod, that no Corruption of Faith through Ignorance might creep into the Offices of the Church. This is abundant Proof that Pſalmody and Prayers were always a Part of the Funeral Service in the Church.

Sect. 12. *And ſometimes the Oblation of the* Euchariſt.

AND whenever it was a proper Seaſon, the Communion was added to theſe alſo: That is, when the Funeral or Commendation of any Perſon deceaſed was in the Morning, which was the only proper Time for the Communion, becauſe it was to be received by all Faſting. This Diſtinction is made in the Third Council of *Carthage*, which orders [*i*] firſt, That all Men ſhall receive the Communion faſting: And then adds, That if any Commendation, or Funeral of a Biſhop or any other be to be celebrated in the Afternoon, it ſhould be done with Prayers only, and not with the Celebration of the *Euchariſt*, if they that aſſiſted at the Funeral-Office, had dined before. This is a manifeſt Evidence, that the Communion was generally celebrated at Funerals in this Age, at leaſt in the

[*i*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 29. Sacramenta altaris non niſi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur —— Nam ſi aliquorum Pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, ſive Epiſcoporum ſive cæterorum Commendatio facienda eſt, ſolis Orationibus fiat, ſi illi qui faciunt, jam pranſi inveniantur.

the *African* Church, unleſs ſome intervening Circumſtance of Time made it otherwiſe. Accordingly *Poſſidius* [*k*] tells us St. *Auſtin* was buried with the Oblation of the Sacrifice to GOD for the Commendation of his Body to the Ground. And ſo St. *Auſtin* [*l*] himſelf tells us, his Mother *Monicha* was buried with the Offering of the Sacrifice of our Redemption, according to Cuſtom, before her Body was laid in the Ground. This made *Victor Uticenſis* [*m*] bring in the People of *Africk* thus complaining, when all their Clergy were driven away in the barbarous Deſolation of the *Vandals*, Who ſhall now bury us, when we are dead, with the ſolemn Prayers? And that we may not think this was a Cuſtom peculiar to *Africk*, *Paulinus* [*o*] tells us St. *Ambroſe* was ſo buried on *Eaſter-Day* in the Morning, after the Divine Sacrament had been adminiſtred. In like manner *Euſebius* [*o*] deſcribes the Funeral of *Conſtantine*: He ſays, the Clergy performed the Divine Service with

[*k*] Poſſid. Vit. Aug. cap. 13. Pro ejus commendanda corporis Depoſitione ſacrificium Deo oblatum eſt, & ſepultus eſt.

[*l*] Aug. Confeſſ. Lib. 9. cap. 12. Cum offerretur pro ea ſacrificium pretij noſtri, jam juxta ſepulchrum poſito cadavere, priuſquam deponeretur, ſicut fieri ſolet. &c.

[*m*] Victor. de Perſec. Vandal. Lib. 2. Bibl. Patr. Tom. 7. p. 600. Qui nos ſolennibus Orationibus ſepulturi ſunt morientes?

[*n*] Paulin. Vit. Ambroſ. Illuceſcente Die Dominico, cum corpus illius, peractis ſacramentis divinis, de Eccleſia levaretur portandum ad Baſilicam Ambroſianam. &c.

[*o*] Euſeb. Vit. Conſt. cap. 71. τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου λειτουργίας διὰ εὐχῶν ἀνεπλήρουν. - - - - - - μυστικῆς λειτουργίας ἀξιώματον καὶ κοινωνίας ἱερέων ἅπαντων εὐχῶν.

with Prayers: And leſt we ſhould take this for Prayers only, he adds, They honoured him with the Myſtical Liturgy, or Service of the *Euchariſt*, and the Communion of the Holy Prayers. So St. *Ambroſe* gives us to underſtand it was in the Funeral of *Valentinian*, by thoſe Words in his Oration upon his Death: Bring me the Holy [p] Myſteries, Let us pray for his Reſt with a Pious Affection. And ſo *Euodius* [q] ſays he buried his Pious Notary, ſinging Hymns to GOD at his Grave Three Days together, and on the Third Day offering the Sacraments of Redemption.

Sect. 13. *With Particular Prayers for the Dead.*

NOW this was the rather done, becauſe in the Communion Service, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, a ſolemn Commemoration was made of the Dead in general, and Prayers offered to GOD for them; ſome Euchariſtical by Way of Thankſgiving for their Deliverance out of this World's Afflictions; and others by Way of Interceſſion, that GOD would receive their Souls to the Place of Reſt and Happineſs; that he would pardon their Human Failures, and not impute to them the Sins of daily Incurſion, which in the beſt Men are Remainders of Natural Frailty and Corruption; that he would increaſe their Happineſs, and finally bring them to a perfect Conſummation

[p] Ambroſ. de Obitu Valentin. p. 12. Date manibus ſancta Myſteria: Pio Requiem ejus poſcamus affectu.

[q] Ap. Aug. Ep. 258.

ſummation with all his Saints by a glorious Reſurrection. All which Prayers, as I have fully demonſtrated [*] in another Place, could have no Relation to the Modern groundleſs Fancy of Purgatory, but went upon other Principles that perfectly overthrow it: But being agreeable to the Senſe and Opinions of thoſe Times, they choſe the rather to uſe the Communion Service at Burials, becauſe of theſe Prayers that were conſtantly made therein to GOD for all Holy Men and Women departed, among whom they reckoned the Soul of him in particular, whom they were then about to commit to his Grave. But whether they had a Communion or not at the Funeral, they had always Prayers, as is evident from the laſt mentioned Canons of the Councils of *Carthage* and *Milevis*, which give Directions about the Uſe of them. And in theſe Prayers, when there was no Communion, they particularly commended the Soul of the Deceaſed to GOD, whence probably theſe Prayers more eſpecially had the diſtinguiſhing Name of Commendations. Beſides theſe it was uſual to pray for them by private or ſuddain Ejaculations, as we find Examples in St. *Ambroſe*'s ſeveral Orations upon the Emperors *Theodoſius*, *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, and his own Brother *Satyrus*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*'s Funeral Speech upon his Brother *Cæſarius*, and St. *Auſtin*'s Private Prayers for his Mother *Monicha*: Not to mention the Prayers made for them annually upon their Anniverſary Days of Commemoration. One of theſe Forms of Prayer uſed at Funerals is ſtill remaining

[*] Book XV. Chap. iii. n. 16.

maining in the *Conſtitutions*, which I the rather chuſe to repeat here, becauſe it fully ſhews, there was no Relation to Purgatory in thoſe Prayers, but quite the contrary, *viz.* a Suppoſition that the Soul of the Deceaſed was going to a Place of Reſt and Happineſs in *Abraham*'s Boſom. The Form runs after this manner: Firſt the Deacon [*r*] ſays, Let us pray for our Brethren, who are at Reſt in CHRIST; that the merciful GOD, who hath taken the Soul of this our Brother, would forgive him all his Sin, voluntary and involuntary, and of his great Mercy and Good-Will place him in the Region of the Juſt, that are at Reſt in the Boſom of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, with all thoſe who have pleaſed GOD and done his Will from the Beginning of the World; in the Place whence Sorrow and Grief and Mourning are fled away. After this the Biſhop makes another Prayer in theſe Words: O Thou immortal and everlaſting GOD, from whom every Thing whether mortal or immortal has its Being; who haſt made Man a rational Creature, and Inhabitant of the World, Mortal in his Conſtitution, but promiſed him a Reſurrection from the Dead; who didſt preſerve *Enoch* and *Elias* from taſting Death; O GOD of *Abraham*, GOD of *Iſaac*, and GOD of *Jacob*, who art not the GOD of the Dead, but of the Living: Becauſe the Souls of all live to thee, and the Spirits of Juſt Men are in thy Hand, whom Torment cannot touch: Look down now upon this thy Servant, whom Thou haſt choſen, and received to another State; pardon him whatſoever he has willingly or unwillingly ſinned againſt

[*r*] Conſt. Apoſt. Lib. 8. cap. 41.

againſt Thee; grant him favourable Angels, and place him in the Boſom of Patriarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, and all thoſe who have pleaſed Thee from the Beginning of the World; where there is no Sorrow, Grief or Trouble, but a Place of Reſt for the godly, a Land of Quietneſs for the Upright, and all thoſe who therein ſee the Glory of thy CHRIST: By whom all Glory, Honour, Adoration, Thankſgiving, and Worſhip be to Thee, through the HOLY GHOST, for ever. *Amen.*

THEN the Biſhop prays again for the People there preſent: LORD ſave thy People, and bleſs thine Inheritance, whom thou haſt purchaſed with the precious Blood of thy CHRIST; feed them under thy Right-hand, protect them under thy Wings, grant that they may fight the good Fight, and may finiſh their Courſe, and keep the Faith, immutable, unblameable, unreproveable, thro' our Lord JESUS CHRIST thy beloved Son: To whom with Thee and the HOLY SPIRIT be all Glory, Honour and Adoration, World without end. *Amen.*

THESE Prayers for the Dead are not made upon the *Romiſh* Suppoſition of the Souls being in Purgatory or any Place of Torment, but plainly upon a quite contrary Suppoſition of their being conducted by the Holy Angels to a Place of Reſt, to the Boſom of Patriarchs, Apoſtles, and Prophets: Which is an infallible Demonſtration, that the Church then knew nothing of a Purgatory Fire to torment the Dead for many Ages after Death; but all her Prayers went upon another Suppoſition, which overthrows the Belief of a Purgatory Fire, by placing

placing the Souls of the Dead in a State of immediate Reſt and Happineſs.

Sect. 14. *A corrupt Cuſtom of giving the Kiſs of Peace and the* Euchariſt *to the Dead, corrected by the ancient Canons.*

WHILST we are ſpeaking of Prayers for the Dead, and the Adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt* at Funerals, we muſt not forget to mention a corrupt Cuſtom which through Ignorance or Superſtition crept into ſome Places, but was ſtrictly forbidden by the Canons. That was the Cuſtom of giving the Kiſs of Peace and the Communion to the Dead. This had a Semblance of Piety in it, and doubtleſs aroſe from the laudable Cuſtom of Celebrating the Communion at Funerals, of which it ſerves for a farther Teſtimony: But it was the Effect of a blind Superſtition only. And therefore though the feigned Author under the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* [*s*] ſpeaks with Approbation of the Ceremony of giving the Kiſs of Peace to the Dead: Yet when this Cuſtom, together with that of giving the *Euchariſt* to the Dead, began to creep into *France* about the Year 578, the Council of *Auxerre* made a peremptory Canon againſt them both: It is not lawful to give either the *Euchariſt* or the Kiſs of Peace [*t*] to the Dead. The Corruption of giving the *Euchariſt* to the Dead had been moving in *Africk* ſome Ages before in the Time of St. *Auſtin*: But he and the reſt of the Fathers who met in the third Council

[*s*] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierarch. cap. 7.

[*t*] Conc. Antiſſiodor. can. 12. Non licet mortuis nec Euchariſtiam nec Oſculum tradi, nec Velo vel Pallis corpora eorum involvi.

Council of *Carthage* gave Check to it [*u*], forbidding ſuch ignorant and weak Presbyters, by whoſe Folly the Practice had been encouraged, to give way any longer to it, or miſguide the People in ſuch an erroneous Opinion, as to make them think the *Euchariſt* was to be given to the Dead: Whereas our LORD ſaid, *Take and eat:* But dead Bodies can neither take nor eat it. The ſame Perſons thought, That dead Bodies might alſo receive the other Sacrament of Baptiſm: As if there had been ſome peculiar Virtue and Efficacy in the outward Elements of the Sacraments themſelves, without any Senſe or Concurrence of Faith in the Receiver. Both which Errors are cenſured alſo by St. *Chryſoſtom* [*x*]; and that of giving the *Euchariſt* to the Dead more particularly by the Council of *Trullo* [*y*]. All which ſhews, that this was an Error which many ſuperſtitious People were very fond of; but it was never allowed or encouraged publickly by any Authority in the Church. The Cuſtom of Burying the *Euchariſt* in the Coffin with the Dead (which has ſo much prevailed in the *Romiſh* Church) is a Novelty of later Ages only, begun by *Benedict* the Monk, but without any Precedent or Example in any of the ancient Monuments of the Church, as I have had Occaſion to ſhew more fully in a former Book [*]. Let us therefore now paſs on from theſe Cor-

[*u*] Conc. Carth. 3. can. 6. Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum Euchariſtia non detur. Dictum eſt enim a Domino, Accipite & edite: Cadavera autem nec accipere poſſunt, nec edere. &c.

[*x*] Chryſ. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 668.

[*y*] Conc. Trull. can. 83.

[*] Book XV. Chap. iv. n. 20.

Corruptions to the more approved Practices of the Church.

Sect. 15. *Almsdeeds commonly added to Prayers for the Dead.*

ALMSDEEDS, as a proper Concomitant of Prayers at all Times, was now thought as seasonable as ever, to be given by the Living for the Dead. Would you honour the Dead? Give Alms, says St. *Chrysostom* [z] in one of his *Homilies*. And in another [a], Why do you call the Poor after the Death of any Relation? Why do you desire the Presbyters to pray for him? I know you will answer, That he may go into Rest, that he may find a merciful Judge. He commends this Practice a little after, and thus presses rich Men to it, that bury their Heirs: If many barbarous Nations burn their Goods together with their Dead, how much more reasonable is it for you to give your Child his Goods when he is dead? Not to reduce them to Ashes, but to make him the more glorious: If he be a Sinner, to procure him Pardon; if Righteous, to add to his Reward and Retribution. St. *Jerom* commends *Pammachius* upon [b] this Account: Whilst other Husbands throw Violets, and Roses, and Lilies, and purple Flowers upon the Graves of their Wives, our *Pammachius* waters the holy Ashes and Bones of his Wife with the Balsam of Alms.

SOME

[z] Chrys. Hom. 61. in Joan.
[a] Id. Hom. 32. in Mat. p. 307.
[b] Hieron. Ep. 26. ad Pammach. de Obitu Uxoris.

Sect. 16. *And repeated yearly upon the Anniverſary Days of Commemoration of the Dead.*

SOME repeated theſe Alms yearly upon the Anniverſary-Day of Commemorating the Dead. At theſe Times they were uſed to make a common Feaſt or Entertainment, inviting both the Clergy and the People [*c*], but eſpecially the Poor and Needy, the Widows and Orphans, that it might not only be a Memorial of Reſt to the Dead, but an Odour of ſweet Smell to themſelves in the Sight of GOD, as the Author under the Name of *Origen* words it. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays [*d*] they were more tenacious of this Cuſtom than they were of ſome others of greater Importance. If they were to commemorate a Child or a Brother that was dead, they were pricked in Conſcience, if they did not fulfill the Cuſtom and call the Poor: But at other Times, even when they were to commemorate the Death of CHRIST, they could overlook them.

Sect. 17. *But this often degenerated into great Exceſſes and Abuſes, which are complained of as no better than the* Parentalia *of the* Gentiles.

BUT this often degenerated into great Abuſes. For ſome inſtead of feeding the Poor, only made this an Occaſion of indulging themſelves in great Exceſſes: Which was the Fault that *Tertullian* ſo ſmartly reproves in the Parentations of the *Gentiles*, when he objects to them their holding Feaſts at the Graves of their Parents, and junketting to Exceſs [*e*],

[*c*] Orig. in Job. Lib. 3. p. 437. [*d*] Chryſ. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 565.

Exceſs [*e*], ſo as to return Drunk from thence, and beſide their Senſes; feeding voraciouſly at the Graves of thoſe, whom in a mock Piety, but real Cruelty, they had burnt before. In the Three firſt Ages no Heathen could retort this back again upon the Chriſtians: But in the Fourth Age ſuch Exceſſes were committed by ſome, that the *Manichees* in St. *Auſtin*'s Time objected it to the *Catholicks*, and the Matter was ſo flagrant, that St. *Auſtin* was forced to own it [*f*], Confeſſing that he knew many who drank luxurioufly over the Dead, and when they made a Feaſt for the Deceaſed, buried themſelves over the Dead, and placed their Gluttony and Drunkenneſs to the Account of Religion. But he ſays the Church condemned them, and daily laboured to correct them as wicked Children. He complains of the ſame Matter again in one of his Epiſtles [*g*] to *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, where he deſires that theſe Oblations for the Dead might be ſo regulated, that they might not run into any Sumptuouſneſs or ſhameful Exceſs: And if any Thing was given in Money upon that Account, it ſhould be diſtributed immediately among the Poor,

[*e*] Tertul. de Teſtimon. Animæ. cap. 4. Quando extra Portam cum obſoniis & mattæis tibi potius Parentans ad buſta recedis, aut a buſtis dilutior redis.

Id. de Reſur. Carnis. cap. 1. Ipſos defunctos atrociſſime exurit, quos poſtmodum guloſiſſime nutrit.

[*f*] Aug. de Moribus. Eccleſ. cap. 34. Novi multos eſſe, qui luxurioſiſſime ſuper Mortuos bibant, & epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, ſuper ſepultos ſeipſos ſepeliant, & voracitates ebrietateſque ſuas deputent Religioni.

[*g*] Aug. Ep. 64. ad Aurelium. It. Hom. 101. de Diverſis.

Poor, according to the Primitive Deſign and Intent of ſuch Oblations. For ſuch Oblations the Church always willingly received, but never encouraged any other [*h*]. The Author of the Book *de duplici Martyrio* under the Name of *Cyprian* [*k*], who wrote long after the Time of St. *Auſtin*, has a like ſevere Reflexion upon the Intemperance of the *African* People. Drunkenneſs, ſays he, is ſo common in our *Africa*, that it is ſcarce reckoned any Crime. Chriſtians are compelled by Chriſtians to be drunk even at the Memorials of the Martyrs. Which is no leſs a Crime than offering a Goat to *Bacchus*. But of this I have ſpoken largely in a former Book [*], where I had occaſion to reflect on the ſame Exceſſes committed by ſome at the Monuments of the Martyrs on their Anniverſary Feſtivals or Commemorations. I now return to the Funerals of the ancient Church.

[*h*] Vid. Conc. Carth. 4. c. 95. & Conc. Vaſens. 1. can. 4. de Oblationibus Defunctorum.

[*i*] Cypr. de Duplici Mart. p. 42. Temulentia adeo communis eſt Africæ noſtræ, ut propemodum non habeant pro crimine. Annon videmus ad Martyrum Memorias Chriſtianum a Chriſtiano cogi ad ebrietatem? &c.

[*k*] Book 20. Chap. 7. n. 10.

Sect. 18. *Decent Expreſſions of moderate Sorrow at Funerals not diſallowed; but the Heatheniſh Cuſtom of hiring* Præficæ, *or Mourning Women, ſharply reproved by the Ancients.*

MODERATE Sorrow, when expreſſed in a decent Manner for the Loſs of Friends, is a Thing ſo natural in itſelf, and ſo conſiſtent even with the Joy and Faith of a Chriſtian, that the Ancients never ſaid any Thing againſt any one expreſſing ſuch Sorrow at a Funeral. But Two Things they extreamly diſliked and ſharply reproved; firſt immoderate Grief, as unbecoming the Character and Profeſſion of a Chriſtian, whoſe Converſation is in Heaven already, and his Hope and Expectation no leſs than a Crown and Kingdom after Death; who therefore ought not to grieve or ſorrow above Meaſure, but with a Mixture of Joy, that any Friend is gone to Heaven before him to take an earlier Poſſeſſion of it. The other Thing they diſliked was the Heatheniſh Cuſtom of having Women hired on Purpoſe to lament and make an hideous Crying and Howling before the Dead, with tearing their Hair alſo, and many other ridiculous Signs of Mourning. The Chief of theſe the *Romans* called *Præficæ*, from being ſet over the reſt to guide and direct them in their Funeral-Songs and Lamentations, as *Roſinus* [*l*] deſcribes them out of *Varro* and *Lucilius*, and *Sextus Pompeius* and *Nonius Marcellus*, and other *Roman* Authors. Now this the Ancients extremely diſliked and ſeverely inveighed againſt as a mere Heatheniſh Cuſtom. Why do

[*l*] Roſin. Antiq. Lib. 3. cap. 31. & Lib. 5. cap. 39.

do you beat yourſelf and lament, ſays *Chryſoſtom* [*m*], and accuſe the Inſtitution of CHRIST, who has overcome Death, and made it only a Sleep? If an Heathen does this, he is worthy to be laughed to ſcorn: But if a Chriſtian does it ſtill, after he is aſſured of a Reſurrection, what Apology or Excuſe can be made for him? And yet you aggravate your Crime by calling in Heathen Women to be your Mourners, and to inflame your Sorrow, not regarding what St. *Paul* ſays, *What Concord hath* CHRIST *with* Belial? *And what Part hath he that believeth with an Infidel?* He then goes on to ſhew the monſtrous Folly and Vanity of this Practice, by great Variety of Arguments, and curiouſly anſwers all the little Pleas, which ſuch Chriſtians made in behalf of themſelves to excuſe this unchriſtian Deportment. In another Place [*n*] he treats them more ſharply, telling them, he was not only grieved but utterly aſhamed to think how Chriſtians debaſed and diſgraced themſelves in the Eyes of the Heathen, and Jews, and Hereticks by their Weeping, and Wailing, and Howlings, and Lamentations, and other indecent Practices in the open Streets, for which the *Gentiles* derided them. For they were ready to ſay, How can any of theſe Men deſpiſe Death themſelves, who cannot ſo much as bear the Death of another? They are fine Things indeed that are ſpoken by *Paul*, when he ſays, GOD *delivered them, who through fear of Death were all their Life-time held in Bondage:* Theſe are heavenly Words truly, and very worthy and becoming

[*m*] Chryſ. Hom. 32. in Mat. p. 306. [*n*] Chryſ. Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1784.

becoming the great Kindneſs and Love of GOD to Men: But ye will not ſuffer us to believe theſe Things, for ye contradict them by your own Actions. Shew me your Philoſophy by your Patience in bearing chearfully the Death of others, and then I will believe the Reſurrection. Thus he makes the Heathen ſpeak by a neat *Proſopopœia*, to ſhame ſuch Chriſtians, if it might be, into a more manly Deportment. He adds withall, That ſuch indecent Behaviour of Men and Women, tearing their Hair and making ſuch hideous Lamentation, was a Crime for which, if they had their Deſert, they ought to be caſt out of the Church, as in effect denying the Reſurrection. In ſhort he tells them with the Authority of a Biſhop, that if they perſiſted in that vile Abuſe of hireing Heathen Women to be their Mourners, he would excommunicate them as Idolaters. For if St. *Paul* calls the Covetous Man an Idolater, much more may he be called ſo, who brings the Practices of Idolaters among Chriſtians. From thenceforth he peremptorily forbids them to make uſe of any ſuch Heathen Mourners under the Penalty of the higheſt Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. By which (not to inſiſt upon what he urges in other Places [*o*], nor what is ſaid by other Writers) we may eaſily judge, how great an Abuſe this Way of indecent Mourning was reckoned in the Church.

THE

[*o*] Chryſ. Hom. 6. in 1 Theſ. Hom. 29. de Dormientibus. T. 5. p. 423.

Sect. 19. *The* Novendial *of the Heathen rejected as a ſuperſtitious Practice.*

THE Heathens had another Cuſtom of repeating their Mourning on the third, and ſeventh, and ninth Day, which was particularly called the *Novendiale*: And ſome added the twentieth, and thirtieth, and fortieth, not without a ſuperſtitious Opinion of thoſe particular Days, wherein they uſed to ſacrifice to their *Manes* with Milk, and Wine, and Garlands, and Flowers, as the *Roman* Antiquaries [*p*] inform us. Something of this Superſtition, abating the Sacrifice, was ſtill remaining among ſome ignorant Chriſtians in St. *Auſtin's* Time; for he ſpeaks [*q*] of ſome who obſerved a *Novendial* in relation to their Dead, which he thinks they ought to be forbidden, becauſe it was only an Heathen Cuſtom. He does not ſeem to intimate, that they kept it exactly as the Heathen did; but rather that they were ſuperſtitious in their Obſervation of Nine Days of Mourning, which was without Example in Scripture. There was another Way of continuing the Funeral Offices for Three Days together, which was allowed among Chriſtians, becauſe it had nothing in it but the ſame Worſhip of GOD repeated. Thus *Euodius* writing

[*p*] Roſin. Antiq. Lib. 5. cap. 39. p. 997.

[*q*] Aug. Quæſt. 172. in Gen. Tom. 4. Neſcio utrum inveniatur alicui ſanctorum in Scripturis celebratum eſſe luctum novem dies, quod apud Latinos Novendial appellant. Unde mihi videntur ab hac conſuetudine prohibendi, ſi qui Chriſtianorum iſtum in mortuis ſuis numerum ſervant, qui magis eſt in Gentilium conſuetudine.

to St. *Auſtin* [*r*], and giving him an Account of the Funeral of a very pious young Man, who had been his Notary, ſays, He had given him honourable Obſequies, worthy ſo great a Soul: For he continued to ſing Hymns to GOD for Three Days together at his Grave, and on the third Day offered the Sacraments of Redemption. The Author of the *Conſtitutions* [*s*] takes Notice of this Repetition of the Funeral Office on the third Day, and the ninth Day, and the fortieth Day, giving peculiar Reaſons for each of them: Let the third Day be obſerved for the Dead with Pſalms, and Leſſons, and Prayers, becauſe CHRIST on the third Day roſe again from the Dead; and let the ninth Day be obſerved in Remembrance of the Living and the Dead; and alſo the fortieth Day, according to the ancient Manner of the *Iſraelites* Mourning for *Moſes* Forty Days; and finally, let the Anniverſary Day be obſerved in Commemoration of the Deceaſed. *Cotelerius* in his Notes upon this Place has obſerved ſeveral other ancient Writers, who take Notice of ſome of theſe Days. *Palladius* in his *Hiſtoria Lauſiaca*, cap. 26. mentions the third and the fortieth. *Juſtinian* in one of his *Novels* [*t*] ſpeaks of the third, the ninth,

[*r*] Euodij Ep. 258. inter Epiſt. Aug. Exequias præbuimus ſatis honorabiles, & dignas tantæ animæ: Nam per triduum Hymnis Dominum collaudavimus ſuper ſepulchrum ipſius, & Redemptionis Sacramenta tertio die obtulimus.

[*s*] Conſtit. Lib. 8. cap. 42.

[*t*] Juſtin. Novel. 133. cap. 3. Sed neque aliam ingreſſuum occaſionem excogitanto —— per cauſam eorum quæ peraguntur circa Exequias, quas ſcilicet Memorias appellant, in Tertium Nonumque diem convenientes, item cum Quadraginta exceſſerint, aut etiam Annus.

ninth, the fortieth, and the Anniverſary Day of Commemoration; forbidding Women who profeſſed the Monaſtick Life, to go into the Monaſteries of the Men under Pretence of any of theſe ſolemn Commemorations of the Dead. To theſe he adds St. *Ambroſe* in his Funeral Oration upon *Theodoſius*, and *Iſidore* of *Peluſium*, Lib. 1. Ep. 114. and *Euſtratius Conſtantinopolitanus*, mentioned by *Photius*, Cod. 171. To omit *Damaſcen*, *Nicon*, *Philippus Solitarius*, *Hincmarus*, *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or any later Writers. *Suicerus* and *Meurſius* take Notice of the ſame Cuſtom in the word τεσσαράκοντα, which ſignifies the third and ninth Day of Commemorating the Dead, which, they ſay, was the Cuſtom of the Ancients. So that when St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks againſt obſerving the ninth Day, it was not what *Cotelerius* ſuppoſes, becauſe he was ignorant of this Practice, with St. *Ambroſe* and many other of the *Latins*, (wherin *Cotelerius* contradicts himſelf, having alledged St. *Ambroſe* before as one that approved the Practice:) But it was becauſe St. *Auſtin* had obſerved ſomething amiſs in the Practice of ſome ſuperſtitious Chriſtians, who kept the ninth Day with ſome Abuſe, moſt probably Rioting and Exceſs, reſembling the *Novendial* of the Heathens; as we have heard him complain before of the Feaſts, which ſuch Chriſtians made at the Graves of the Dead, too much reſembling the *Parentalia* of the *Gentiles*.

THE

Sect. 26. *The Cuſtom of Strawing Flowers upon the Graves of the Dead, retained without Offence.*

THE Cuſtom of Strawing Flowers upon the Graves of the Dead was reckoned innocent, and therefore was retained by ſome Chriſtians without any Rebuke. St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Jerom* both mention it without any Cenſure: Only they ſeem to ſpeak of it as chiefly the Practice of the Vulgar: For the more intelligent Sort of Chriſtians deſpiſed it as a Trifle, and ſhewed their Reſpect to the Dead in Acts that were more ſubſtantial. Thus St. *Ambroſe* in Praiſe of *Valentinian*, ſays [*u*], I will not ſcatter Flowers upon his Grave, but perfume his Spirit with the Odour of CHRIST. Let others ſtraw their Baskets of Flowers upon him: My Lily is CHRIST, and with this Flower only will I conſecrate his Remains. In like Manner St. *Jerom* [*x*] commends his Friend *Pammachius* for this, That whilſt other Husbands ſcattered Violets, and Roſes, and Lilies, and Purple Flowers upon the Graves of their deceaſed Wives, and with ſuch little Offices aſſwaged the Grief of their Breaſts; *Pammachius* watered the holy Aſhes and Bones of his Wife with the Balſam of Almsdeeds and Charity to the Poor. With theſe Perfumes

[*u*] Ambroſ. de Obitu Valentin. p. 12. Nec ego floribus tumulum ejus aſpergam, ſed Spiritum ejus Chriſti odore perfundam. Spargant alij plenis lilia calathis: Nobis Lilium eſt Chriſtus: Hoc reliquias ejus ſacrabo.

[*x*] Hieron. Ep. 26. ad Pammach. de Obitu Uxoris. Cæteri mariti ſuper tumulos conjugum ſpurgunt violas, roſas, lilia, floreſque purpureos; & dolorem pectoris his officiis conſolantur. Pammachius noſter ſanctam favillam oſſaque veneranda Eleemoſynæ balſamis rigat.

Perfumes and Odours he ſolaced the Aſhes of the Dead that lay at Reſt, knowing that it was written, *As Water will quench a flaming Fire, ſo Alms makes an Atonement for Sins.*

Sect. 21. *As alſo Wearing a Mourning Habit for ſome Time.*

THEY had the ſame Notion of going into a Mourning Habit for the Dead; They did not condemn it, nor yet much approve of it, but left it to all Mens Liberty as an indifferent Thing; rather commending thoſe that either omitted it wholly, or in a ſhort Time laid it aſide again, as acting more according to the Bravery and Philoſophy of a Chriſtian. Thus St. *Jerom* commends one *Julian* [y] a rich Man in his Time, becauſe having loſt his Wife and Two Daughters, that is, his whole Family in a very few Days one after another, he wore the Mourning Habit but Forty Days after their Death, and then reſumed his uſual Habit again; and becauſe he accompanied his Wife to the Grave, not as one that was dead, but as going to her Reſt. *Cyprian* indeed ſeems to carry the Matter a little farther: He ſays, He was ordered by Divine Revelation to preach to the People publickly and conſtantly, That they ſhould not lament their Brethren that were delivered from the World by the Divine Vocation; as being aſſured that they were not loſt, but only ſent before them; that their Death was only a receding

[y] Hieron. Ep. 34. ad Julian. Laudent te—— quod in Quadrageſimo die Dormitionis earum Lugubrem veſtem mutaveris, & Dedicatio oſſium Martyris candida tibi veſtimenta reddiderit.

receding from the World, and a ſpeedier Call to Heaven; that we ought to long after them, and not lament them; nor wear any Mourning Habit [z], ſeeing they were gone to put on their White Garments in Heaven: No Occaſion ſhould be given to the *Gentiles* juſtly to accuſe and reprehend us, for lamenting thoſe as loſt and extinct, whom we affirm ſtill to live with GOD; and that we do not prove that Faith, which we profeſs in Words, by the inward Teſtimony of our Hearts and Souls. *Cyprian* thought no Sorrow at all was to be expreſſed for the Death of a Chriſtian; nor conſequently any Signs of Sorrow, ſuch as the Mourning Habit; becauſe the Death of a Chriſtian was only a Tranſlation of him to Heaven. But others did not carry the Thing ſo high, but thought a moderate Sorrow might be allowed to Nature, and therefore did not ſo peremptorily condemn the Mourning Habit, as being only a decent Expreſſion of ſuch a moderate Sorrow, though they liked it better if Men could have the Bravery to refuſe it.

Sect. 22. *Some other Rites not allowed by the Ancients.*

WE find ſome other Funeral Rites mentioned by the ſpurious Writers under the Names of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* and *Athanaſius*. As the Prieſts anointing the Body with Oyl before it was put into the Grave, for which the pretended *Dionyſius* [a] gives this Reaſon, That as in

[z] Cypr. de Mortal. p. 164. Nec accipiendas eſſe hic atras veſtes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam ſumpſerint. &c.

[a] Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hierarch. cap. 7.

in the Minſtration of Baptiſm, after the Perſon had put off his old Garments, he was anointed with Oyl: So in the End of all Things Oyl was poured upon the Dead. The firſt Unction called the baptized Perſon to his Holy Fight and Combate; the ſecond Unction declared that he had fought his Fight and finiſhed all his Labour, and was now conſummated and made perfect. This was quite different Unction from the Anointing or Embalming of the Body to its Burial, of which we have ſpoken before: And as other Writers ſay nothing of it, I let it paſs as a Thing uncertain, the bare Teſtimony of this Writer not being ſufficient to eſtabliſh an Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom. We may ſay the ſame of another Rite mentioned by the pretended *Athanaſius* [b], who ſpeaks of lighting a Mixture of Oyl and Wax at the Grave of the Dead, as a Sacrifice of Burnt-offering to GOD. But beſides the Silence of others, there are two farther Prejudices againſt this, firſt, That it looks more like a Piece of *Jewiſh* Superſtition than a Chriſtian Rite, and ſecondly, That the Council of *Eliberis* has an expreſs Canon [c] forbidding a Ceremony not very different from this, *viz.* Burning of Wax-Tapers by Day in the Cemiteries of the Dead, leſt the Spirits of the Saints ſhould be moleſted: And if any deſpiſed this Order

[b] Athan. Serm. de Dormientibus, *cited by* Durant. de Ritibus. Lib. 1. cap. 23. n. 14. p. 235.

[c] Conc. Eliber. can. 34. Cereos per diem placuit in Cœmiterio non incendi: Inquietandi enim ſpiritus Sanctorum non ſunt. Qui hæc non obſervaverint, arceantur ab Eccleſiæ communione.

Order, they were liable to be caſt out of Communion for their Contempt of it. I will not pretend to explain to the Reader the Reaſon of this Inhibition, nor ſay that it forbids expreſsly the Rite beforementioned: But there is ſome Analogy and Similitude between the two Ceremonies, and therefore it is hence very probable, that neither of them were accepted or any ways approved by the Church.

Sect. 23. *To what Sort of Perſons the Privilege of Burying with this Solemnity was denied.*

WE have now ſeen the whole Manner of Chriſtian Burial among the Ancients, with all the Rites both Sacred and Civil accompanying and attending it. I have only one Thing more to obſerve concerning the whole in general: Which is, That Chriſtian Burial with theſe Solemnities was ever eſteemed a Privilege, and ſuch as good Men always deſired when they could have it, and bad Men were puniſhed for their Crimes with the Denial and Refuſal of it by the Church, who laid it as a Mark of Cenſure and Diſpleaſure upon them, not to allow them the Honour and Privilege of that ſolemn Interrment which was Cuſtomary in the Practice of the Church. Good Men indeed were not above meaſure concerned for their Bodies, ſo as to think it any real Detriment or Loſs to them, if either the Barbarity of their Enemies or any other Accident denied them this Privilege: For in this Caſe, as St. *Auſtin* largely diſcourſes [*d*], the Faith of a Chriſtian ſet him above any Fear

[*d*] Aug. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 1. cap. 12 & 13.

Fear that might ariſe from the Want of a Burial: The Conſumption of Wild Beaſts would be no Prejudice to thoſe Bodies which muſt riſe again, and an Hair of whoſe Head could not periſh. The *Pſalmiſt* indeed ſays, and that with ſome Concern, *They have given the dead Bodies of thy Servants to be Meat to the Fowls of the Air, and the Fleſh of thy Saints to the Beaſts of the Land: Their Blood have they ſhed on every Side of* Jeruſalem, *and there was no Man to bury them.* But this, ſays St. *Auſtin*, is ſaid more to exaggerate the Cruelty of thoſe who did it, than the Infelicity of thoſe who ſuffered it. For though theſe Things may ſeem hard and direful in the Eyes of Men, *yet precious in the Eyes of the* LORD *is the Death of his Saints.* Therefore all theſe Things, namely, the Care of a Funeral, the Building of a Sepulchre, the Pomp of Funeral Obſequies, are rather for the Conſolation of the Living, than for any Benefit of the Dead. If a ſumptuous Funeral be any Advantage to the Wicked, then a poor one or none at all may be ſome Detriment to the Juſt. The rich Man that was clad in Purple, had a ſplendid Funeral, by the Miniſtry of his Servants, in the Sight of Men; but the poor Man full of Sores had a much more ſplendid one in the Sight of GOD, by the Miniſtry of the Angels, who did not carry him forth into a Marble Tomb, but tranſlated him into *Abraham*'s Boſom. Some Philoſophers have deſpiſed the Care of a Funeral; and whole Armies, whilſt they were Fighting for an earthly Country, have been as regardleſs where they ſhould lie, or to what Beaſts they ſhould become a Prey. And the Poets have ſaid plauſibly enough upon this Subject,

——*Cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam.*

He that has no Urn, has yet the Heaven for a Covering. Therefore let not the Heathen inſult over the Bodies of Chriſtians, that lie unburied, who have a Promiſe that their Fleſh and all their Members ſhall be reformed, not only out of the Earth, but out of the moſt ſecret Receſſes of every other Element, and in a Moment of Time be perfectly reſtored to their priſtine and primitive State again.

THIS was the Chriſtian's Conſolation, whenever Malice or the Neceſſity of their Fate and Condition denied them a Funeral. In other Caſes they were very deſirous to be decently interred among their Brethren; and the Living thought it a Piece of Juſtice to the Dead, to treat them handſomely after Death, ſeeing their Bodies had been the Organs and Veſſels of the HOLY GHOST to every good Work; and were not only like a Ring or a Garment, mere external Ornaments to the Nature of Man, but more intimately and nearly belonging to him, as Part of his very Eſſence and Conſtitution. Upon this Account good Men were equally careful both to pay this juſt Debt to their holy Brethren, and to make Proviſion that the ſame good Offices ſhould be done to themſelves. And this made it an honourable and deſireable Privilege to be buried after the Manner of the Faithful. But then it was a Privilege which belonged to none but ſuch. All Catechumens that died in a voluntary Neglect of Baptiſm, were excluded from the Benefit of it, as we find by an Order of the firſt

first Council of *Braga* [*d*], and many Passages of St. *Chrosostom* to this Purpose, which direct Men [*e*] to offer Private Alms and Private Prayers for them, but assure us they had no Place in the Publick Offices of the Church. The Case was otherwise, when Men died without Baptism not through any Neglect or Contempt of it, but by some unavoidable Necessity, which happened and could not be foreseen or prevented, whilst they were piously and studiously preparing for Baptism. In this Case, either Martyrdom or a Man's own Faith was thought sufficient to supply the Want of Baptism, as I have largely shewed [*] in another Place: And then they were buried with the same Solemnity as other Believers, being all one with them in the Estimation of the Church.

ANOTHER Sort of Persons, to whom the Church denied the usual Solemnity of Burial, were the *Biathanati*, that is, such as laid violent Hands upon themselves, being plainly guilty of Murder, and that without Repentance, by calling Death upon themselves. And they put into the same Class all those that were publickly executed for their Crimes; because these were virtually and indirectly guilty of Self-Murder, in doing those Things which in the Course of Justice brought them to an untimely End; or at least such Things as deser-

[*d*] Conc. Bracaren. 1. can. 35.

[*e*] Chrys. Hom. 3. in Philip. p. 1224. Hom. 24. in Joan. p. 159. Hom. 1. in Act. p. 14.

[*] Book X. Chap. 2. n. 20 & 21.

ved a Spiritual Cenſure, as well as a Temporal Puniſhment. Upon this Account the Council of *Braga* [*f*] orders, that both theſe Sorts of Men ſhall be denied the Honour of being carried with the uſual Solemnity of Pſalmody to the Grave. The Council of *Auxerre* [*g*] orders, That the Oblations of ſuch as voluntarily hanged or drowned themſelves, or killed themſelves with the Sword, or caſt themſelves from a Precipice, or were any other Ways guilty of a voluntary Death, ſhould not be received in the Church. And this was a Puniſhment of the ſame Nature as denying them a ſolemn Burial. There is a like Order in the Second Council of *Orleance* [*h*] to refuſe the Oblations of ſuch as lay violent Hands upon themſelves; but they except ſuch as were killed for their Crimes; I ſuppoſe, upon a Suppoſition, that ſuch Perſons repented of their Crimes before their Execution. But if any one laid violent Hands upon himſelf, or was actually killed in his Crimes, there was no Exception ever made in his Favour. *Optatus* ſays [*i*], even one of the *Donatiſt* Biſhops denied the Circumcellions ſolemn Burial, becauſe they were ſlain in Rebellion againſt the Civil Magiſtrate. Which ſhews that this was a Rule inviolably obſerved in the Church.

ANOTHER Sort of Perſons, to whom the Church denied the Privilege of ſolemn Burial, were all excommunicated Perſons, who continued

[*f*] Conc. Bracar. 1. can. 34. [*g*] Conc. Antiſiodor. can. 17. [*h*] Conc. Aurelian. 2. can. 14. [*i*] Optat. Lib. 3. p. 68.

tinued Obſtinate and Impenitent in a manifeſt Contempt of the Church's Diſcipline and Cenſures. Under which Denomination all Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, that were actually denounced ſuch by the Cenſures of the Church, were included. For the Office of Burial belonged only to the *Fideles*, or Communicants, that is, ſuch as died either in the full Communion of the Church, or elſe if they were excommunicate, were yet in a Diſpoſition to communicate by accepting and ſubmitting to the Rules of Penance and Diſcipline in the Church. In which Caſe their Deſire of Communion was accepted, as the Catechumens Deſire of Baptiſm, and they were treated as Communicants, though they happened to die without a Formal Reconciliation in the Church: The Church in this Caſe relaxed their Cenſures, and received them into Communion, and treated them as other Communicants after Death: Of which I have given [*] a more ample Account in ſpeaking of the Diſcipline of the Church in a former Book.

[*] Book XIX. Chap. ii. n. 11.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of the Laws made to ſecure the Bodies and Graves of the Dead from the Violence of Robbers and ſacrilegious Invaders.

Sect. 1. *The old* Roman *Laws very ſevere againſt Robbers of Graves, and all Abuſes and Injuries done to the Bodies of the Dead.*

THOUGH it does not ſtrictly belong to the Buſineſs of Funeral Rites to ſpeak any thing of Robbers of Graves, and the Laws made againſt them; yet becauſe theſe have ſome Relation to the Dead, and ſome Things alſo remarkable in them, I will add ſomething upon this Subject for the Cloſe of this whole Diſcourſe. I have hinted before [*] that the old *Roman* Laws were very ſevere againſt all Injuries and Abuſes offered either to the Bodies or the Monuments and Sepulchres of the Dead. They were reckoned Sacred Things; and therefore if any violated a Sepulchre, ſo as to draw out the Body or the Bones, it was a Capital Crime to be puniſhed [*a*] with Death in Perſons of a meaner Rank; and others of an higher Fortune were either to be tranſported into ſome Iſland, or otherwiſe baniſhed, or condemned to

[*] Chap. ii. n. 2.

[*a*] Digeſt. Lib. 47. Tit. 12. de ſepulchro violato. Leg. 11. Rei ſepulchrorum violatorum, ſi corpora ipſa extraxerint, vel oſſa eruerint, humilioris quidem fortunæ ſummo ſupplicio afficiuntur: Honeſtiores in Inſulam deportantur: alij autem relegantur, aut in Metallum damnantur.

to the Mines, as appears from the Anſwer of *Paulus* in the *Pandects*, and thoſe Laws of the Chriſtian Emperors [*b*], which ſpeak of the Old Laws puniſhing this Crime with Death. They made a Diſtinction between the Bodies and the Sepulchres: He that violated the Sepulchre only, but offered no Injury to the Body was not puniſhable with Death, but either Confiſcation, or Infamy, or Baniſhment, or digging in the Mines: But if he offered any Indignity to the Body itſelf, his Crime was Capital, and his Blood was required to expiate the Offence; unleſs the Dignity of his Condition happened to be ſuch as the Law allowed to ſecure his Life, and change the Puniſhment of Death into a Penalty of ſome other Nature.

Sect. 2. *This Severity continued for the moſt Part under the Chriſtian Emperors, with ſome additional Circumſtances.*

THIS Law continued all the Time of *Conſtantine*: But *Conſtans* his Son made a little Alteration in the Penalty; which laſted not very long; for it was preſently after revoked by *Conſtantius*, and the old Penalty revived again. *Conſtans* in a firſt Law about demoliſhing Sepulchres (making no mention of violating the Bodies themſelves) left the Matter pretty much as he found it; Ordering [*c*] all ſuch as were con-

[*b*] Cod. Th. Lib. Tit. 17. de Sepulchr. Violatis. Leg. 2. & 3. Et Valentin. Novel. 5. de Sepulchris.

[*c*] Cod. Th. ibid. Leg. 1. Si quis in demoliendis Sepulchris fuerit adprehenſus, ſi id ſine Domini conſcientia faciat, Metallo adjudicetur: Si vero Domini auctoritate vel Juſſione urgeatur, Relegatione plectatur. &c.

concerned in demoliſhing of Sepulchres, to be ſent to the Mines, if they were of a ſervile Condition, and did it without the Knowledge of their Lord: But if they did it barely at his Inſtance, by his Authority and Command, they were only to be exiled by a common Baniſhment: And if the Lord was found to have received any Thing into his own Houſe or Farm, that was taken from a Sepulchre, his Houſe or Farm or whatever Edifice it was, was to be confiſcated to the Publick. But in a Second Law [*d*] he took away the Puniſhment of Death, which the old Laws appointed, and inſtead of it laid a Mulct or Fine of Twenty-Pound of Gold upon all that ſhould be found guilty in any Thing of this Nature. *Conſtantius* did not approve of this Reduction or Abatement of the ancient Penalty, and therefore he revoked the Indulgence of his Brother *Conſtans*, and by two new Laws of his own brought the ancient Puniſhment of Death into Force again, with ſome additional Puniſhment by way of Fine alſo. His firſt Law [*e*] runs in theſe Terms: We underſtand there are ſome, who out of a greedy Deſire of Gain pull down and demoliſh Sepulchres, transfering the Materials of the Building to their own Houſes: Now ſuch, when their Wickedneſs is detected, ſhall be ſubject to the Puniſhment appointed by the ancient

[*d*] Ibid. Leg. 2. Factum ſolitum ſanguine vindicari, Mulræ inflictione corrigimus. &c.

[*e*] Cod. Th. Ibid. Leg. 3. Quoſdam comperimus, lucri nimium cupidos, Sepulchra ſubvertere, & ſubſtantiam fabricandi ad proprias ædes transferre: Hi detecto Scelere animadverſionem priſcis Legibus definitam ſubire debebunt.

ancient Laws. In his other Law, he firſt impoſes a Penalty of Ten Pound of Gold upon any one that ſteals from a Monument either Stones, or Marble, or Pillars, or any other Material, whether to uſe in any Building, or to ſell them: And then he ſubjoins [*f*], That this Puniſhment is intended as an Addition over and above to the ancient Severity: For he would not derogate any Thing from that Puniſhment which was before impoſed upon thoſe, who offered Violence to the Graves of the Dead: Becauſe, as he ſays in the Beginning of his Law, it was a double Crime equally injurious both to the Dead and the Living; To the Dead, by deſtroying and ſpoiling their Habitations; and to the Living, by polluting them in the Uſe of ſuch Materials in Building. And he adds in the Cloſe, that his Intention was to include within theſe Penalties all ſuch as meddled with the Bodies and Relicks of the Dead, as well as thoſe who defaced their Sepulchres. There is alſo a Law of *Julian*'s in the *Theodoſian Code*, wherein he firſt complains of the Audaciouſneſs of Men in demoliſhing Sepulchres and ſtealing away the Ornaments of them; and then orders [*g*] ſuch to be proſecuted with the Severity of the former Laws made againſt them. Finally *Theodoſius* Junior and *Valentinian* III. made a moſt ſevere Law

[*f*] Ibid. Leg. 4. Quæ pœna priſcæ ſeveritati accedit; Nihil enim derogatum eſt illi ſupplicio, quod ſepulchra violantibus videtur impoſitum. Huic autem pœnæ ſubjacebunt & qui Corpora ſepulta aut Reliquias contrectaverint.

[*g*] Ibid. Leg. 5. Hoc fieri prohibemus, pœna manium vindice cohibentes.

againſt all ſuch Invaders of what Quality ſoever, appointing their Puniſhment according to the Dignity of the Perſons concerned. If a Slave or a Countryman [*b*] was apprehended in this Crime, he was immediately to be put to the Rack: And if he confeſſed that it was his own Act, and his Maſter was not concerned in it, he was to be put to Death. If his Maſter was concerned in it, he was puniſhed in like manner. If a Freeman was found guilty, who was but a *Plebeian* and had no Eſtate, he was alſo to ſuffer Death. If he had an Eſtate, or was in any Dignity, he was to be amerced in half his Eſtate, and for ever after to be made infamous in Law. If a Clergyman was found guilty of this Crime, whether Biſhop or Inferior, he was immediately to be degraded and loſe the Name of a Clerk, and to be ſent into Baniſhment without Redemption. And all Judges are ſtrictly charged to ſee this Law duly put in Execution. *Pax ſepultis*, Peace be to the Dead.

Sect. 3.
No Indulgence allowed to Robbers of Graves by the Emperors at the Eaſter-*Feſtival.*

To give theſe Laws the greater Force and Terror, it was uſual with the Emperors, when they granted their Indulgence to ſeveral Criminals, according to Cuſtom at the *Eaſter*-Feſtival, ſtill to except Robbers of Graves with other great Criminals whom they

[*b*] Valentin. Novel. 5. de ſepulchris. ad Calcem Cod. Theodoſ. ſervos Colonoſve in hoc facinore deprehenſos, duci protinus ad tormenta convenit. Si de ſua tantum fuerint temeritate confeſſi, luant commiſſa ſanguine ſuo. &c.

they thought unworthy of any ſuch Pardon or Indulgence; ſuch as Men guilty of Sacrilege, Inceſt, Raviſhment, Adultery, Sorcery, Necromancy, Counterfeiting or Adulterating the Publick Coin, together with Murder and Treaſon: As we find the Exceptions made in ſeveral Laws of *Valentinian*, and *Gratian*, and *Theodoſius* Senior, and *Theodoſius* Junior, and *Valentinian* III. put together in one Title in the *Theodoſian Code* [*i*], beſide this famous Law of *Valentinian* now recited.

Sect. 4. *For this Crime a Woman was allowed by the Laws to give a Bill of Divorce to her Husband.*

AND it is remarkable alſo, That *Conſtantine*, who allowed a Woman Liberty to put away her Husband for Three Crimes, made this one of the Three; if he was a Murderer, or a Sorcerer, or a Robber of [*k*] Graves. And *Theodoſius* Junior alſo puts the ſame Crime among the legal Cauſes of Divorce both in Men and Women in one of his Laws [*l*], which *Juſtinian* not only put into his new *Code*, but confirmed by ſeveral Laws and Novels of his own Compoſing, as has been already ſhewed more at large in handling the Matter of Divorces [*] in the laſt Book. Neither were the Eccleſiaſtical Laws wanting in the Puniſhment of this Crime, which was reputed the moſt barbarous and inhuman

[*i*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 38. de Indulgentiis Criminum. Leg. 3. 4. 6. 7. 8.

[*k*] Cod. Th. Lib. 3. Tit. 16. de Repudiis. Leg. 1.

[*l*] Cod. Juſt. Lib. 5. Tit. 17. de Repudiis. Leg. 8.

[*] Book XXII. Chap. v. n. 8.

human Sort of Robbery of any other; concerning which I have ſpoken fully under the Head [†] of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and therefore need ſay no more of it in this Place.

Sect. 5. *One Reaſon tempting Men to commit this Crime, was the rich Adorning of the Heathen Sepulchres.*

Now if it be inquired, What made Men profeſſing Chriſtianity to be ſo much addicted to this Vice, that there ſhould be Need of ſo many Laws againſt it? I anſwer, There were Three Motives or Temptations to this Kind of Robbery; Two of which had ſomething plauſible in them; but the firſt had nothing but downright Covetouſneſs in it, ariſing from the rich Ornaments and ſplendid Furniture of many of the Heathen Monuments built over their Graves; which ſome wicked Chriſtians, as well as others, looking upon not ſo much with an envious, as a covetous and rapacious Eye, took Occaſion either publickly or privately to make a Spoil and Plunder of them. This is evident from the Complaints made in the ſeveral Laws, of ſuch Robbers carrying off Marble Stones, and Pillars, and other rich Furniture, either to adorn their own Houſes therewith, or make a Gain of them by Selling to others. Some were ſo baſe and ſordid, as to pull down Monuments to make Lime with, or ſell them to others for that Purpoſe, *Coquendæ calcis gratia*, as one of the Laws words it.

BUT

[*] Book XVI. Chap. vi. n. 24.

Sect. 6.
A more plauſible Pretence was taken up from the Laws, that ordered all Heathen Altars and Images to be demoliſhed.

BUT this rapacious Humour was ſomething covered with a plauſible Pretence of Piety and Zeal for the Chriſtian Religion. For *Conſtantine*, *An.* 333, had ordered all Altars and Images as well as Temples to be deſtroyed: And the Heathen Monuments and Sepulchres were often adorned with ſuch Images: Which gave Occaſion, beyond the meaning of the Law, to bad Men to demoliſh the Heathen Monuments, under the Notion of deſtroying Images, and rooting out Idolatry, and all the Remains and Footſteps of it. Had they kept within the Intent of the Law, only deſtroying Images and Altars, and not the Graves themſelves, there had been no juſt Reaſon of Complaint: But when under this Pretence they deſtroyed not only the Images, but the whole Edifice of the Monuments, eraſing the Titles, and diſturbing the Bodies or Aſhes of the Dead, and carrying off Marble Stones and Pillars, and whatever was ornamental or valuable about them; this was thought intolerable by the ſucceeding Emperors, and therefore ſo many good Laws were made againſt the hypocritical Rapaciouſneſs of ſuch illegal Pretenders to Reformation. The Law was good, had they uſed it lawfully: But they, through Covetouſneſs and Rapine, went beyond their Bounds: And therefore *Conſtans* the Son of *Conſtantine*, *An.* 349, ordered all theſe Creatures to be called to an Account, who had ſo abuſed the Law of his Father; and under Pretence of deſtroying Images, had the

the Marble Ornaments [*m*] and Pillars taken away, and the Stones thrown down to burn into Lime: Whoſoever of this Sort could be diſcovered, from the Time that *Dalmatius* and *Zenophilus* were Conſuls, that is, from the Year 333, when *Conſtantine* firſt publiſhed his Edict, which they fraudulently took the Advantage of; they ſhould forfeit to the Emperor's Coffer a Pound of Gold for every Monument ſo defaced. And whoever for the future was found guilty of ſuch Rapine, ſhould be amerced Twenty Pounds of Gold to the Uſe of the *Exchequer* likewiſe. So that this Pretence of Demoliſhing Heathen Monuments under the Notion of deſtroying Idolatry, was a mere hypocritical Act of Covetouſneſs varniſhed over with a Face of Religion.

Sect. 7. *A third Reaſon was, to get the Relicks of Martyrs to ſell and make Gain of them.*

THERE was alſo a third Temptation of the ſame Nature, which ſeems to have prevailed even among ſome of the more ſenſeleſs and covetous Clergy: Which was the gainful Trade of getting and ſelling the Relicks of Martyrs. This made them for the Sake of filthy Lucre rob Graves, and ſteal away the Bones of Martyrs, or any others, that they might have a ſufficient Stock of Relicks (true or

[*m*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 17. de Sepulchris. Leg. 2. Univerſi itaque, qui de Monumentis columnas vel marmora abſtulerunt, vel coquendæ calcis gratia lapides dejecerunt, ex Conſulatu ſcilicet Dalmatij & Zenophili, ſingulas Libras auri per ſingula Sepulchra Fiſci rationibus inferant. &c.

or falſe, it mattered not which) to feed the fooliſh Superſtition of ſuch as were willing to let them make a Gain of them. This Kind of Superſtition, calculated to encourage Covetouſneſs and religious Cheats, was ſtirring among ſome in the Church betimes. For though the Church for above Five hundred Years made no other Uſe of the Relicks of Martyrs, but only decently to interr them; yet ſome ſuperſtitious Perſons privately made another Uſe of them. *Optatus* ſays, *Lucilla* the rich Foundreſs, as one may call her, of the *Donatiſt*-Schiſm, was uſed before ſhe received the *Euchariſt*, to kiſs the [*n*] Mouth of a certain Martyr, which whether true or falſe, ſhe had procured, and kept by her for that Purpoſe. For this ſhe was gravely reproved by *Cecilian* then Archdeacon of *Carthage*: Which ſhe ſo reſented and remembred, that when he came to be Biſhop, ſhe being a rich, potent, factious Woman, by her Intereſt procured ſome others to be ſet up againſt him: Which was the firſt beginning of the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, founded upon the Pride of an imperious Woman, who was incorrigibly bent upon the ſuperſtitious Veneration of the Relick of a Martyr. St. *Auſtin* likewiſe tells us, there were in his Time [*o*] a great many wandring idle

[*n*] Optat. Lib. 1. p. 40. Cum correptionem Archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non poſſet, quæ ante ſpiritalem Cibum & Potum, os neſcio cujus Martyris, ſi tamen Martyris, libare dicebatur. &c.

[*o*] Aug. de Opere Monachorum. cap. 28. Callidiſſimus hoſtis tam multos hypocritas ſub habitu Monachorum uſquequaque diſperſit, circumeuntes Provincias, nuſquam miſſos, nuſquam fixos, nuſquam ſtantes, nuſquam ſedentes: Alij

idle Monks, hypocritical Men, who by the Inſtigation of Satan went about the World, ſelling Relicks of Martyrs, which it was very doubtful whether they were the Relicks of true Martyrs or not. However they made a gainful Trade of it; and no doubt were tempted upon that Account to rob the Graves of the Martyrs, or ſome others, which would as well ſerve their Purpoſe. In Oppoſition to this Sort of Men *Theodoſius the Great* [*p*] made an expreſs Law, that no one ſhould remove any Dead Body that was buried, from one Place to another; that no one ſhould ſell or buy the Relicks of Martyrs: But if any one was minded to build over the Grave where a Martyr was buried, a Church to be called a *Martyrium* in reſpect to him, he ſhould have Liberty to do it. This was then the Honour that was paid to Martyrs, to let them lie quietly in their Graves, and build Churches over them, which were dedicated to GOD and his Service, not to any Religious Worſhip of the Martyr; only in honour to him the Church might be called a *Martyrium* after his Name: But beyond this no Honour was to be given to him under any Pretence of Veneration: And to take up his Body and make Merchandize of his

Alij membra Martyrum, ſi tamen Martyrum, venditant: Alij fimbrias & phylacteria ſua magnificant. &c.

[*p*] Cod. Th. Lib. 9. Tit. 7. de Sepulchris Violatis. Leg. 7. Humatum corpus nemo ad alium locum transferat; Nemo Martyrem diſtrahat, nemo mercetur: Habeant vero in poteſtate, ſi quolibet in loco ſanctorum eſt aliquis conditus, pro ejus veneratione, quod Martyrium vocandum ſit, addant quod voluerint Fabricarum.

his Bones, was ſo far from Veneration, that it was reckoned a diſturbing of his Aſhes and a Robbing of Graves, which was mere Covetouſneſs hypocritically covered under the Name of Religion. I queſtion not but the Law of *Valentinian* III. which ſpeaks of Biſhops and others of the Clergy, who were concerned in Robbing of Graves, was levelled againſt this Sort of Men, who digged up the Bones of Martyrs, and ſold them as Holy Relicks, to gratify their own Lucre at the Expence of ſuperſtitious People, who thought it an Honour to a Martyr to keep his Bones above-Ground; whereas all the Laws of Church and State then reckoned it a ſacrilegious Robbing of Graves, and Diſturbance of thoſe Holy Relicks, which ought to have lain quiet and undiſturbed to the Reſurrection.

Sect. 8. *A peculiar Cuſtom in* Egypt *to keep the Bodies embalmed and unburied in their Houſes above-Ground.*

THERE was a peculiar Cuſtom in *Egypt*, which might have given great Encouragement to this wicked Practice; though we do not find Men made that ill Uſe of it; however it was diſapproved upon another Account. For the Cuſtom of *Egypt* was ſo to embalm the Dead, as to keep them either in their Houſes, or in Monuments and *Mauſolæums* above-Ground: The Body ſo ordered was by the ancient *Greek* Writers called τάριχος; the *Egyptians* called it *Gabbara*; and Modern Writers, *Mummia*, as *Gataker* [q] obſerves from the *Arabick* Word, *Mum*, which denotes

[q] Gataker. Not. in Marc. Antonin. Lib. 4. p. 175.

denotes Wax, uſed chefly in this Embalming. Moſt Ancient Writers ſpeak of this *Egyptian* way of Embalming: And *Tully* more particularly takes Notice [r] of their keeping the Bodies ſo embalmed in their own Houſes without any other Burial. This Cuſtom, it ſeems, was alſo retained among the Chriſtians of *Egypt*, many of whom ('tis certain not all) were wont not to bury their Dead under-Ground, but when they had embalmed them, to keep them ſtill in their Houſes laid in Beds, out of Reverence and Honour for their Perſons. *Athanaſius* ſays St. *Antony* [s] the famous *Egyptian* Hermit was very much offended at this Cuſtom, and therefore he was uſed with a great deal of Freedom to tell the Biſhops of *Egypt*, that they ought to teach the People better, and endeavour to break the Cuſtom. For the Bodies of the Patriarchs and Prophets were kept in their Sepulchres unto this Day; and the Body of our LORD was laid in a Grave to the Time of his Reſurrection. By which Arguments he ſhewed, that it was a Sin for any Man not to bury the Bodies of his Dead under the Earth, although they were Holy. For what can be greater or more Holy than the Body of the LORD? Upon this many People changed their Cuſtom, and buried the Bodies of the Dead under-Ground, giving GOD Thanks that they were better inſtructed. 'Tis added a little after, that St. *Antony* gave orders that his own Body ſhould ſo be buried, which was accordingly done in a Place

[r] Cicero Tuſcul. Quæſt. Lib. 1. n. 108. Condiunt Ægyptij mortuos, & eos domi ſervant.

[s] Athan. Vit. Anton. T. 2. p. 502.

Place that no one knew of beſide the two Perſons that took care of his Funeral. But it was not eaſy to break an inveterate Cuſtom, and therefore though many left off this way, yet many continued it ſtill: For St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of it [*t*] as a Thing in Uſe among the *Egyptians* in his Time, at leaſt to dry the Bodies of the Dead by their curious way of Embalming, which made them almoſt as hard as Braſs and kept them from Corruption. Theſe in their Language they called by a peculiar Name, *Gabbaræ*, which, I think, we may Engliſh, *Egyptian Mummies*. He does not expreſsly ſay, they ſtill kept them above-Ground, but he ſeems to intimate as much, in ſaying, they intended by their Embalming to harden them like Braſs, and preſerve them from Corruption.

Sect. 9. *No Religious Worſhip allowed to be given to Relicks in the ancient Church till after the Time of St.* Auſtin.

WE may hence draw ſeveral Arguments, as Mr. *Daille* has done in a very Curious and Learned Book [*u*], to prove, that there was no religious Worſhip given to the Relicks of Saints and Martyrs for ſeveral of the firſt Ages in the Church. For their great Care then was to bury them under-ground, (and not ſet them upon the Altar [*x*] as in after-Ages:) This was

[*t*] Aug. Serm. 120. de Diverſis. cap. 12. Ægyptij diligenter curant cadavera mortuorum: Morem enim habent ſiccare corpora & quaſi ænea reddere: Gabbaras ea vocant. [*u*] Dallæus de Objecto Cultus Religioſi. Lib. 4.

[*x*] Mabillon de Liturg. Gallicana. Lib. 1. cap. 9. n. 4. *Owns there were no Relicks ſet upon the Altar even to the* 10*th Century.*

the greateſt Reſpect they thought they could pay to them. St. *Antony* thought it was a great Diſreſpect to keep them above-ground unburied: The Laws made it Sacrilege to rob a Grave for the Sake of them, and abſolutely forbad any one to buy or ſell the Relicks of a Martyr: *Lucilla* was reproved for paying an undue Reſpect to them: St. *Auſtin* inveighs againſt the Monks that went about the World Selling the Relicks of Martyrs: And he condemns thoſe who worſhipped Graves and Pictures under Pretence of honouring [y] the Dead, whom he puts into the ſame Claſs with thoſe who made themſelves drunk at the Monuments of the Martyrs, and placed their Intemperance to the Account of Religion. All ſuch, he ſays, were a Scandal to the Church, whom ſhe condemned as ignorant and ſuperſtitious Men, and daily laboured to correct them as wicked Children. There is one Inſtance in the IIId Century of ſome well-meaning Chriſtians, who after the Martyrs *Fructuoſus* and *Eulogius* were burnt, gathered up their Remains, and would have kept them by them only out of Reſpect and Love, not for any religious Worſhip: But *Fructuoſus* after his Paſſion [z] appeared to them, and admoniſhed them to reſtore immediately whatever Part of the Aſhes any one out of Love had taken

[y] Aug. de Moribus Eccleſiæ Cathol. cap. 34. Novi multos eſſe ſepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores: Novi multos eſſe, qui luxurioſiſſime ſuper mortuos bibant. &c.

[z] Acta Fructuoſi. ap. Baron. an. 262. n. 68. Fructuoſum poſt Paſſionem apparuiſſe Fratribus, & monuiſſe, ut quod unuſquiſque per Caritatem de cineribus uſurpaverat, reſtituerent ſine mora, unoque in loco ſimul condendos curarent.

taken to himſelf, and that putting them all together they ſhould bury them in one common Grave. The great Care of the Church and of the Martyrs themſelves in thoſe Days, was not to have their Relicks kept above-ground for Worſhip, but to be decently buried under the Earth. And therefore when the Heathen Judge asked *Eulogius* the Deacon who ſuffered with *Fructuoſus* his Biſhop, Whether he would not worſhip *Fructuoſus* as a Martyr after Death? He plainly replied, I do not worſhip *Fructuoſus* [*a*], but him only whom *Fructuoſus* worſhips. The like Anſwer was given by the Brethren of the Church of *Smyrna* to the Suggeſtion of the *Jews*, when at the Martyrdom of *Polycarp* the *Jews* deſired the Heathen Judge, That he would not permit the Chriſtians to carry off the Body of *Polycarp*, leſt they ſhould leave their crucified Maſter, and begin to worſhip this Man in his Stead: This Suggeſtion, ſays the Anſwer, proceeded purely from Ignorance [*b*], and a falſe Preſumption, that we could either forſake CHRIST, or worſhip any other. For we worſhip CHRIST, as being the Son of GOD: But the Martyrs, as the Diſciples and Followers of the LORD, we love with a due Affection, for their great Love of their own King and Maſter; with whom we deſire to be Partners and Fellow-Diſciples. They add, That when his Body was burnt, they gathered up the Bones, more precious and valuable than any Gold or precious Stones, and buried them in a convenient Place, where

[*a*] Ibid. n. 62. Ego Fructuoſum non colo, ſed ipſum colo quem & Fructuoſus.

[*b*] Acta Polycarpi. ap. Euſeb. Lib. 4. cap. 15.

by GOD's Permiſſion they intended to meet and celebrate his Birth-Day with Joy and Gladneſs, as well for the Memorial of thoſe who have bravely ſuffered and fought as Champions before, as for the Exerciſe and Preparation of thoſe that come after. I will only add one Teſtimony more out of St. *Auſtin*, where he makes ſome pious Reflexions upon the Paſſions of the foreſaid *Fructuoſus* and *Eulogius*. He mentions the ſame Anſwer of *Eulogius* to the Judge, that the Acts ſpeak of; when the Judge asked him, Whether he would worſhip *Fructuoſus*? He replied, I do not worſhip *Fructuoſus*; but I worſhip Him whom *Fructuoſus* alſo worſhips. Upon which St. *Auſtin* makes this Remark, That hereby we are taught [*c*] to honour the Martyrs, but not to worſhip them, but only to worſhip the GOD whom the Martyrs worſhip. For we ought not to be ſuch as the *Pagans* are, whom we lament upon that very Account, becauſe they worſhip dead Men. For all thoſe whoſe Names you hear, to whom Temples are built, were Men, and all or moſt of them Kings among Men: As you have heard of *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*, *Mercury*, *Bacchus* and the reſt; whom not only the Fictions of the Poets, but the Hiſtories of all Nations declare and evidence to have been Men, who having obliged the World with ſome Temporal Kindneſſes, were after Death worſhipped by vain Men, who called and eſteemed them Gods, and

[*c*] Aug. Serm. 101. de Diverſis. p. 571. Quo modo nos admonuit, ut Martyres honoremus, & cum Martyribus Deum colamus. Neque enim tales eſſe debemus, quales Paganos dolemus. Et quidem illi mortuos homines colunt. &c.

and built Temples to them as Gods, and prayed to them as Gods, and erected Altars to them as Gods, and ordained Prieſts for them as Gods, and offered Sacrifices to them as Gods: Whereas the True GOD alone ought to have Temples, and Sacrifices ought to be offered to the True GOD alone. As for the Martyrs, he ſays, they did neither take them for Gods, nor worſhip them as Gods. We give them no Temples, nor Altars, nor Sacrifices; neither do the Prieſts offer to them. GOD forbid. Theſe Things are only done to GOD, and offered to Him from whom alone we obtain all good Things, at the Memorials of the Martyrs. Therefore if any one aſks thee, Whether thou worſhip *Peter*? Anſwer as *Eulogius* did concerning *Fructuoſus*, I do not worſhip *Peter*, but I worſhip Him whom *Peter* alſo worſhips. Then he brings in the Example of *Paul* and *Barnabas* refuſing to be worſhipped by the *Lycaonians*, and the Example of the Angel refuſing to be worſhipped by St. *John*, and bidding him to worſhip GOD alone. After which he adds theſe remarkable Words in the Cloſe, both againſt thoſe who kept Feaſts at the Graves of the Martyrs, and thoſe who worſhipped them: The Martyrs hate your Flaggons of Wine, the Martyrs hate your Frying-Pans, the Martyrs hate your drunken Revellings at their Graves: I ſpeak not theſe Things to injure or reproach any who are not ſuch: Let them who do ſuch Things, take it to themſelves: The Martyrs [*d*], I ſay, hate

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[*d*] Ibid. p. 572. Oderunt Martyres Lagenas veſtras, oderunt Martyres ſartagines veſtras, oderunt Martyres Ebrietates

theſe Things, and love not thoſe that do them: But they much more hate and abhor any Worſhip that is offered to them. Theſe are plain Evidences, that no Religious Worſhip was given to the Martyrs, much leſs to their Relicks, by the Church in the Time of St. *Auſtin*: But ſome ignorant and ſuperſtitious Perſons were carried away with a blind Zeal, to reckon thoſe Things to be an Honour to the Martyrs, which were a real Reproach both to themſelves and the Church, and diſpleaſing both to GOD and the Martyrs; to whom the greateſt Honour they could do, was to lay their Relicks quietly in the Grave, and meet at their Tombs to praiſe GOD for their glorious Atchievements and Victories over the Terrors of Death, and to excite themſelves to Piety and Conſtancy in the Faith by the Provocation of their Examples. Other Honours to the Dead the ancient Church knew none; at leaſt approved or encouraged none; but laboured to correct and repreſs them wherever they appeared, as reſembling too near, and ſavouring too much of the Follies and Superſtitions of the *Gentiles*, whoſe Gods were only dead Men, deified by their own Conſecration and Worſhip, without any real Foundation in Nature: For by Nature they were no Gods: And this is the great irrefragable Argument the Ancients always made Uſe of againſt them; of which I have ſaid enough both

Ebrietates veſtras: ſine injuria eorum dico qui tales non ſunt: Illi ad ſe referant qui talia faciunt: Oderunt iſta Martyres, non amant talia facientes. Sed multo plus oderunt, ſi colantur.

both here and elſewhere [*], and ſo I put an End to this Diſcourſe concerning the Manner of treating the Dead in the ancient Church.

I HAVE now gone through the whole State of the Primitive Church, and given an Account of the ſeveral Parts of her Publick Worſhip and Offices of Divine Service: Which in a great Meaſure anſwers the Deſign I at firſt propoſed to myſelf, when I begun this Work. Another Book more of Miſcellaneous Rites might be added: But having laboured in this Work for Twenty Years with frequent Returns of Bodily Infirmities, which make hard Study now leſs agreeable to a weakly Conſtitution; and the Things themſelves being of no great Moment; I rather chuſe to give the Reader a compleat and finiſhed Work, with an Index to the Whole, than by graſping at too much, to be forced to leave it imperfect, neither to my own nor the World's Satisfaction. I bleſs GOD for enabling me to go through the Work with Comfort and Pleaſure: I thank the World for their Patience and Approbation; and I thank my particular Benefactors more, as I think I am obliged to do, for their ſuitable Encouragement to a Work of ſuch a Nature: I blame none for Want of Encouragement, nor any that diſlike the Whole, or any Part of it: They may have Reaſons perhaps, which I know not of, and ſhall never enquire into. I hope however, that it may prove an Uſefull Work in ſome Meaſure both

[*] Book XIII. Chap. iii.

to the Preſent and Future Generations, as a Learned Prelate was once pleaſed to ſay to me, by way of Approbation and Encouragement, *Seris Arbores alteri Sæculo profuturas:* If ſo, I ſhall have my End: Let the Church receive Benefit, and GOD the Glory of all.

LAUS DEO.





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